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Art. I. *The Ancient History of South Wiltshire*; by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. pp. 254. Royal Folio, Boards. Price 12*l*. 12*s*. (Nearly 80 Plates, including the Maps of the Stations.) Murray, 1812.

THIS splendid volume has been published in three distinct portions, the first of which appeared so long since as 1810. The third portion has completed the investigation of South Wiltshire; and the concluding paragraph announces the Author's 'intention to prosecute the same researches throughout 'the Northern District of the County, where a spacious and 'unexplored field is left open for inquiry and investigation.' That course of investigation he has since been pursuing; and very recently he has publicly signified that the first portion of his second volume will shortly appear. It is probable that volume, if completed, will equal, in size and sumptuousness, the one that has preceded it. We presume the greater part of the materials are already accumulated.

To those who have acquainted themselves with the performance we need not remark, how decidedly it takes precedence of all works relating to the earliest British antiquities. And this precedence has been very fairly and very dearly earned, at the expense of many years of zealous prosecution, and of many thousands of pounds. It will ever stand high among the most conspicuous instances illustrative of the good fortune which befalls the cause of knowledge, when a man whose taste devotes him to that cause, can afford, and has the spirit to afford, to pursue an inquiry in which there is no way to success but through an expensive process. The necessity of such a process was never more evident than in the present instance. The injunction, "Put money in thy purse," might pertinently have been enforced, with more than Iago's reiteration, on a man entering on such a field. The results of a few days' operations with the battalion of spade-and-pick-axe-men, might no doubt have sufficed, to an ingenious man, for originating a multitude of conjectures and

amusing speculations; might even have been made the basis of some fanciful and perhaps plausible system; but this would have brought us into no intimacy with ancient reality: the main substance of the grand deposit of the materials of knowledge would have remained in darkness beneath the ground, secure against inquisitiveness, learning, speculation, and fancy, till a man should arrive with the means of commanding permanently a *posse* of disciplined labourers, and himself insatiably intent on unveiling the secrets of Time and Death.

It is very gratifying that here and there an individual of the class who are able to subsidize all kind of forces in aid of a laudable purpose, should be seized upon by a passion for opening avenues, and, as it were, making roads, into some of the most obstructed and obscure tracts of inquiry.

The peculiar subjects of Sir R. Hoare's extensive and minute investigations, may be denominated the British Antiquities, by eminence; for he takes us completely back beyond the age of the Saxons, and of the Romans, and surrounds us with the memorials of the Aborigines of our island. He marks in the most decided manner the sites of their villages, collects a multitude of the identical implements once grasped in their hands, for uses of domestic economy, or hunting, or religion, or war; and of ornaments which decked their wild and painted forms. But more than this, he follows those forms themselves to the last retreat, and brings to light the cinerary relics, or the complete skeletons, of rational beings, many of whom lived before the commencement of our era, and whose remains had reposed inviolate till the hour of our Author's invasion of their sepulchres. And, before the frequency of the researches had rendered the spectacle familiar, it must have been very striking to see the forms which have lain still and silent so prodigiously longer a time than they lived and moved; to behold, brought for a moment to the light of the sun, the beings that walked in that light at a period so much nearer the morning of the world; to realise in imagination the fact, that these very forms, seen and handled by the disturbers of their long repose, have conversed, and walked, and played, and worshipped, and fought, on the fields and hills, at a few feet beneath the green turf of which they have been lying unseen while unnumbered generations have had, in succession, *their* youth and age, their gaieties and sorrows, their business, superstitious, and animosities, on the very same fields and hills. The rude and barbarous state of these Aborigines, that absence of all the high improvements of human nature which reduces so low the interest felt towards a living race, has a far less repressive effect on that felt for a race contem-

plated in the shades of remote time. The combination of antiquity and death has a strange power of investing objects with a character of dignity and solemnity.

Under the influence of this character of the venerable relics of the ancient Britons, a person whose sensibility should be of a pensive and romantic tendency, would not feel unmingled complacency in such a wide unsparing ransack of the aboriginal tombs. While eager to know their contents, he would be sometimes haunted by a slight intimating sentiment, as if a certain kind of sanctity were violated by the rapacious curiosity which marches the gang of sturdy excavators from tumulus to tumulus, with unrelenting activity, and in a short time throws open scores of these primitive asylums of the dead. To the dying Celtæ, and to their kindred and friends who raised these mounds over their remains, it would have been, notwithstanding the rude state of their moral nature, a most ungracious thought, that their sepulchral abodes would be ravaged by the hands of a future and alien race. The case, however, may be allowed to be one in which the interests of knowledge take just precedence of the refinements of sensibility; and the knowledge very properly desired, could not be obtained without the accumulation of a great number of facts. It is to be mentioned, besides, that our indefatigable investigator made it a rule to leave the human relics in their repository, and to restore them to their darkness, taking away only the articles which had accompanied the interment.

Wiltshire, the county in which our Author resides, is distinguished above every other part of England, for the number of monumental vestiges of the people of the earliest ages. And from the circumstance of so large a part of it having remained, from those ages till now, unviolated by agricultural operations, a very great proportion of those vestiges have continued conspicuous and entire, being of a nature over which mere time and the elements have little power. When our Author, in his younger days, used to fly over these tracts so palpably marked with the memorials of antiquity, in the wild ardour of the chace, he little dreamed, he confesses, that the field was ever to become to him so enchanted a ground in so very different a way. He was, it seems, led into this new pursuit by a man in comparatively humble life, Mr. Cunnington, of Heytesbury, whose enthusiasm for British Antiquities had found means for prosecuting, on a considerable scale, the investigation of the barrows the habitual sight of which had kindled it. He had made a most valuable collection of their venerable spoils; and no one who was introduced to him will ever forget the friendly manner in which he received an inquisitive visitant, or the interest and intelligence with which he

shewed and illustrated his acquisitions. He zealously aided the wider plan of operations of Sir R. Hoare, who derived great advantage from his experience, sagacity, and zeal, and who takes, in the course of his work, every occasion to honour his memory. He lived to see his portrait placed at the head of this splendid publication, accompanied with a dedication of the work to him, in terms certainly not the most happily chosen for expressing the regard and respect which the Author most sincerely felt for him.

Sir R. Hoare commences the volume with a kind of motto with which he also closes it:—"We speak from facts, not "theory."

'Such,' says he, 'is the motto I adopt, and to this text I shall most strictly adhere. I shall not seek amongst the fanciful regions of romance, an origin for our Wiltshire Britons, nor, by endeavouring to prove by whom, and at what period, our island was first peopled, involve myself in a Celtic or Belgic controversy. I shall describe to you what we have found; what we have seen; in short, I shall tell a plain unvarnished tale, and draw from it such conclusions as shall appear not only reasonable, but even uncontradictable.'

Notwithstanding this prudent resolution, and notwithstanding the hopelessness, as we fear, of the controverted questions respecting the Celtic race, as to their origin and the exact extent of the regions which they at any period occupied, he does venture a little on the treacherous ground, in the commencement of his introduction, by deriving the Celts, without hesitation, from a Scythian origin, whereas it is probably impossible to ascertain their origin;—by an unsatisfactory attempt to define the extent of countries occupied by this race;—and by too confident an assumption of the entirely separate and Celtic nationality of the people so far in the interior as Wiltshire, as contradistinguished from the Belgæ, who were found by Cæsar in possession of the south-eastern coast. He is confident that this more interior population was the absolutely primary colonization; and that its original entrance into the island from Gaul was at its south-west extremity. He says,

'The progress of population may still be traced from this remote corner along the western shores of our island. Numerous remains of stone circles, cromlechs, rocking stones, and *tumuli*, still exist in the Scilly islands, and are continued along the coasts of Cornwall and Dorset, to the widely extended plains of Wiltshire; all, from their rudeness, bespeaking a very ancient, and I may pronounce, a Celtic origin, and corresponding in a very striking degree with those on the opposite shores of our mother-country, Gaul.'

Except as for means of unavailing controversy, we have very small obligations to the Greek and Roman writers for their careless, ignorant, and confused statements respecting the origin, distinctions, progresses, and localities of the ancient nations.

Our Author, however, very wisely ceases to 'tread the 'crude consistence' of the written history, and comes on ground of which he is incomparably more the master than any contemporary or preceding individual. He observes how uninteresting, how nearly devoid of character, is the general face of the Wiltshire downs, to an uninstructed beholder. But by long and inquisitive and experimental attention a perception is acquired, to which this blank surface presents itself marked with innumerable traces and signs of most striking import; and that exclusively of the tumuli which are so palpable to the most ordinary observation.

'In traversing the extensive downs our attention is continually arrested by the works of the ancient Britons; strong fortresses, circles, barrows, and other inequalities of the ground. Whoever has studied attentively the formation of our chalk hills will observe that all maiden downs, by which I mean all land untouched by the plough, bear a most even and smooth surface; and wherever we find the appearance of that surface altered by excavations and other irregularities, we may there look with a prospect of success for the habitations of the Britons; and especially if the herbage is of a more verdant hue, and the soil thrown up by the moles of a blacker tint. There, on turning up the soil, will be found convincing proofs of ancient residence, such as animal bones, pottery, brick tiles, and coins of the lower empire. Such are the certain *indicia* which have led us to the discovery of numerous British towns and settlements.'

The last mentioned of these *indicia* is, however, far from being of general occurrence. This detection of the marks of ancient abode is quite a new acquisition to the scanty knowledge of British antiquity; and it furnishes, says our Author, 'a certain and infallible index, by which we are enabled to trace the progress of British population from the rudest to the most civilized æra.' The sole merit of the discovery is attributed, in marked and liberal terms, to Mr. Cunnington.

In describing the various forms of the mounds and ditches, Sir Richard has no difficulty in distinguishing, as of British origin, those of simple slight construction and irregular shape. Those of massive square or oblong form, are pronounced to be the work of the Romans. But there is an intermediate class, of not very regular or symmetrical shape, but of great mass, and with multiplied defences. These are judged to be Saxon, or Roman, or possibly, in some instances, Danish improvements upon original British works. The works of decidedly the highest antiquity, are shewn to be a proportion of the barrows, and certain circles chiefly on the highest grounds, formed of a slight *vallum* and ditch, including but a small area, and apparently 'not intended for any military purpose, but most probably for some civil or religious object.' There

use, however, must be matter of mere conjecture. But there seems to be no room left for conjecture with respect to another description of earthen works, in the form of a double bank with a hollow way between, carried across the downs in a varying direction, sometimes to a considerable length.

'I shall consider them,' says Sir Richard, 'as covered ways, or lines of communication from one British town to another: they were evidently not raised for barriers of defence; the bank being of equal height on each side, and the area of the ditch broader in proportion, and flatter,' (than in the barrier ramparts previously described.) 'The frequent occurrence of these on our downs opened a wide field for reflection and conjecture; and much time was spent in doubt and uncertainty, till at length their connexion with the British towns became apparent, and ascertained most clearly the original cause of their formation.'

As to the Barrows, the general fact of their sepulchral design was familiarly known; it was for our Author's experience to detect the anomaly that a small proportion of them, the same in external appearance, are *not* sepulchral, and do not yield to the investigator any indication of their design. Such operations without conceivable use would be strange, (as it may well be supposed the toil of raising and shaping these masses must have been a very undesirable thing to the wild companies whose hands and rude implements had so heavy a task,) if we had not been informed by Cæsar how much of the valuable properties which recommend more modern forms of social economy prevailed in the constitution of society of the Gaulish and British population; of which the smaller portion, the Druids and a species of nobles, held the rest in a state of slavery, or little better. Let any of these worthy persons be seized with a fancy to have an artificial hill on any particular spot for the purpose merely of enjoying the sunshine and air upon,—the subject tribe knew their duty.

Our Author's long attention to barrows has enabled him to form a classification, of twelve distinctions. So many definable varieties of shape he denominates long barrow, of two classes—bowl barrow—bell barrow—druid barrow, of four classes—pond barrow—twin barrow—cone barrow—and broad barrow; illustrating all the descriptions by elegant engravings. It seems there would be an exception or two to the general rule that these exterior forms supply no index of the specific nature of the contents. In the Pond Barrow indeed, Sir Richard never found any sepulchral remains; and it is as unaccountable, as to its use, as it is singular in form. 'It differs totally from all the others, and resembles an excavation made for a pond; it is circular, and formed with the greatest exactness; having no protuberance within the area, which is

perfectly level.'—A succession of experiments on the Long Barrows, which surpass all the other classes in magnitude, had so uniform a result, that after a while he passed them by in his exploring operations.

'They differ very materially from the circular barrows in their contents, for we have never found any brass weapons or trinkets deposited with the dead, nor the primary interment deposited within the funeral urn. With a very few exceptions, we have always found skeletons on the floor of the barrow, and at the broad end, lying in a confused and irregular manner, and near one or more circular cists cut in the native chalk, and generally covered with a pile of stones or flints. In other parts of the *tumulus* we have found stags' horns, fragments of the rudest British pottery, and interments of burnt bones near the top. These *indicia* attest the high antiquity of the long barrows.'

We transcribe the account of a second experiment on Corton Long Barrow, which, even after encroachments on both sides by the plough, measures two hundred and sixteen feet long, and twenty-five broad, its highest elevation being nine feet.

'Mr. Cunnington commenced another section nearer the eastern extremity, where, after clearing away the earth for the depth of two feet, he came to a large stone, which required the strength of three men to lift out. This proved to be the top of a pyramid of loose flints, marl stones, &c. which became wider near the bottom, where the base of the ridge measured more than twenty feet in length, and about ten feet in width. Beneath this ridge were found eight skeletons, lying promiscuously in various directions. Seven of them were adults, the eighth a child: they had been deposited on the floor of the barrow, between two excavations in the native soil, of an oval form, and seven feet apart. These oval cists or pits were about four feet long, and two and a half deep; they were cut in the chalk, and, with the skeletons, were covered with a pyramid of flints and stones.' p. 102.

Of the Druid Barrows, (a denomination retained, but retained merely *as* a denomination, in deference to Dr. Stukeley, who applied it,) his opinion is, that they were appropriated to females, (his phrase is, 'to the female *tribes*,') 'because in most instances they have been found to contain diminutive articles, such as small cups, small lance heads, amber, jet, and glass beads.

The modes and circumstances of the funeral deposite are exceedingly various. The grand difference is that of cremation and interment of the body entire. Our Author admits as unquestionable, that the simpler mode of burying entire was man's earliest manner of separating and concealing the dead from the living; but he had innumerable proofs that both modes were in use at once at a very ancient period of British sepulture. He found the skeletons of some bodies

which had been placed with the legs gathered up toward the thighs; these he judges, from a consideration of circumstances, to be examples of the primitive mode of disposing the dead. He distinguishes several of the varieties of both the methods, and expresses his opinion of their probable succession in the order of time.

‘In the first mode, (burying entire), we have frequently found the body deposited within a cist, with the legs and knees drawn up and the head placed towards the north.’

‘The second mode of burying the body *entire*, is evidently proved to be of a much later period, by the position of the head and body, and by the articles deposited with them. In this case we find the body extended at full length, the heads placed at random in a variety of directions, and instruments of iron accompanying them.’

‘Two modes of *cremation* seem also to have been adopted; at first, the body was burnt, the ashes and bones collected, and deposited on the floor of the barrow, or in a cist excavated in the native chalk. This, being the most simple, was probably the most primitive custom practised by the ancient Britons. The funeral urn, in which the ashes of the dead were secured, was the refinement of a later age. The bones, when burnt, were collected, and placed within the urn, which was deposited with its mouth *downwards*, in a cist cut in the chalk. Sometimes we have found them with their mouth *upwards*, but these instances are not very common: we have also frequently found remains of the linen cloth which enveloped the bones, and a little brass pin which secured them.

‘Of the different modes of interment, I am of opinion that the one of burying the body entire, with the legs gathered up, was the most ancient; that the custom of cremation succeeded, and prevailed with the former; and that the mode of burying the body entire, and extended at full length, was of the latest adoption.’

In accompanying Sir R. Hoare's interesting progress among the ancient dead, we have observed that comparatively few of the skeletons were found lying in that gathered up form which he pronounces, with much probability, to be indicative of the earliest period, but that a great majority of them are mentioned as laid with the head toward the north. A very considerable number, nevertheless, had the head in some other direction, though most rarely toward the south: an instance, however, occurs in page 87, of two skeletons found lying in this direction. In a number of instances several skeletons were found in a situation which shewed that the bodies had been placed, or rather thrown, hastily or rudely together without order. For example:

‘Mr. Cunnington found a large circular cist about five feet wide, and two and a half deep, cut very neatly in the chalk, which

contained nothing but black earth, intermixed with stones and marl. By the side of this cist, and further to the south, lay the remains of a great many human skeletons crossing each other in every direction, but the decayed state of the bones prevented his ascertaining the number of bodies.' p. 72.

One was found 'in a sitting posture, with the head and hands within ten or twelve inches of the surface.'—It is remarkable how very rarely any of them bore signs of the violence of war. One is mentioned as having the skull cleft.

The interments entire were far exceeded in number by the cremations. The burnt bones were often found simply deposited on the floor, that is, on the original surface of the ground previously to the raising of the tumulus; sometimes in the cist, that is, the grave dug below that surface, of various forms and depths, often circular and only a foot or two deep. Sometimes they were in an urn of rude earthenware, and sometimes placed on the ground with such an urn inverted over them. Quantities of ashes and charred wood were generally near them, and not unfrequently intermingled with them. In the minute circumstances attending these deposits, there were many diversities, perhaps caprices. In one instance it is noticed as a singularity, that the ashes were deposited within the urn, and the interment of bones in the cist; but we meet with at least one more instance of the same kind. In one barrow there was a large urn without any interment. There were a considerable number of cists without interment. 'Can we suppose,' says Sir Richard, 'that the Britons entertained the same ideas as the Greeks and Romans, who erected to the memory of those whose bodies could not be found, a *tumulus honorarius*, or *cenotaphium*, from a superstitious notion that the soul could not otherwise rest?'

In a few instances it was found that the bones had been enclosed in a wooden case. Under one skeleton in a cist there was a 'little well, as if designed to draw the moisture from the body'. In one barrow was a cist six feet in length, from east to west, containing the skeleton of a large man, with his limbs gathered up and crossed, and that of a younger person by his right side. From the position of their heads, they seemed to have been placed in the affectionate attitude of embrace, as the two skulls nearly touched each other. In one cist were deposited the head of an ox and the horn of a deer. A whimsical singularity in the internal conformation of a barrow is described in page 205.

'In making the section in this barrow, our labourers perceived three apertures in the soil at some considerable distance apart, which at first they considered as rabbit holes, but on working further they found that they extended from the top of the barrow to the

interment of a skeleton at the bottom : and in these apertures they frequently discovered large quantities of petrified oak wood. It is difficult to account for this singular circumstance, unless we suppose that, on the interment of this Briton, three pieces of oak timber had been placed either upon or near the body which diverged in an angular direction toward the summit, and as in process of time the wood became nearly decomposed, the calcareous water, by draining through the apertures, might fossilize the decayed wood and produce the above petrification.

The relics of decayed linen are, in one place, described as of a reddish brown colour, lying like cobwebs on the calcined bones. In another it is said,—‘ We discovered an interment of burnt bones, over which was a considerable quantity of decayed linen cloth, the filaments of which at first sight appeared like hair.’ No second example occurs of such a manner of disposing of the bones as that in one of the barrows in the Amesbury district.

—‘ Pursuing the section, we found two or three fragments of burnt bones. We next observed a rude conical pile of large flints, imbedded in a kind of mortar made up of the marly chalk dug near the spot. This rude pile was not more than four or five feet in the base, and about two feet high on the highest part, and was raised upon a floor on which had been an intense fire, so as to make it red like brick. After much labour in removing the greater part of this pile, we very unexpectedly found the remains of the Briton below, and were much astonished at seeing several pieces of burnt bones intermixed with the great masses of mortar, a circumstance extremely curious, and so novel that we know not how to decide on the original intent of this barrow. The Britons might perhaps have burned the body by an intense fire on the spot where the earth was made red : and the calcined bones might then have been collected together, and mixed in the mortar, which, with flints, formed the rude cone over the fire-place. If this opinion is right, the Britons in this instance adopted a very singular method for preserving their dead.’ p. 117.

We have observed that the cists cut in the floor, or original surface of the earth, were for the most part of inconsiderable depth. But there occurred several remarkable exceptions ; one, in which the interment was found at the depth of ten feet, another at that of eleven. After digging in the former of these, six feet below the level, the labourers began to doubt whether the chalk had ever been moved ; but a stag’s horn and some charred wood soon assured them, and they finally discovered a skeleton with its head laid toward the east.

‘ From the very extraordinary depth at which this body was deposited,’ says our Author, ‘ we naturally expected to have found some of the rudest weapons of ancient times ; but no arms, trinkets, or pottery, accompanied this very original British interment.’

At the time of the opening of the latter, there was a tremendous thunder-storm, of which Mr. Bowles, the poet, who was on the spot, availed himself in a spirited copy of verses, sent next morning to our Author. The peculiarity and excess of ancient zeal manifested in these very extraordinary instances, to secure a profound and eternal quiet to a dead friend, was met and rivalled by a proportionate excess of excitement in the curiosity of the modern detector; for doubtless in these deepest explorations, the inquisitive feeling became every moment more intense, in proportion to the greater remoteness and mystery of the retirement of the concealed object from the light of day.

‘At the depth of *eleven* feet, after the very laborious removal of an immense quantity of flints, we discovered a skeleton of large proportions, lying north-east by south-west, on its left side, with both legs gathered up, according to the most ancient and primitive usage. Near its side was deposited a most beautiful brazen dagger, that had been gilt, and protected by a wooden scabbard, some part of which was still seen adhering to it; also a large and a small ornament of jet, perforated with two holes for suspension. Near the thigh-bone was another ornament of jet, resembling a pulley, four very perfect arrow heads of flint, as well as some pieces of flint chipped and prepared for similar weapons, and a small brass pin. A fine urn, probably the Drinking Cup, lay broken at the feet of this British hero.’ p. 239.

The quality of the weapons, in point of material, leaves no doubt of this interment being anterior to the Roman invasion; but the workmanship of the dagger, by the description, would seem to indicate something superior in art to any probable attainments of the very earliest period. Mr. Bowles, indeed, in the poem, makes this dagger to be the gift of ‘Kings of distant ocean’.

Through a very large proportion of the barrows examined and enumerated, each contained several interments: not only the relics of several bodies, for those were often found obviously constituting one interment, but distinct deposits made at different periods of time. Skeletons would often be disclosed at a very slight depth below the surface of the tumulus; further down, perhaps a deposit of burnt bones, with an urn or without; another perhaps on the floor; and still the cist with the most ancient interment, would remain for a further search. Mr. Cunnington and our Author were never satisfied unless they could detect the *primary* interment, and they learned to distinguish almost infallibly all the others from that. The different deposits were often palpably referred to different ages, by the systematic diversity of the weapons or ornaments.

It is one of the unaccountable facts established by Sir Richard's experience, that the relative magnitudes of the tumuli

supply no rule of probability as to the importance of the deposits which they may respectively contain,—judging of that importance by the kind and quantity of the articles found with the bones. The opening of one very fine barrow of the height of nearly fourteen feet from the floor, discovered at five feet below that floor the primary interment, which was the skeleton of a child, apparently not more than two or three years old, accompanied with only a drinking cup. On which Sir Richard remarks, that, from its size and beautiful form, Dr. Stukely would have styled this a King Barrow; but that such a result of the investigation may shew how little regard we ought to pay to system; especially when in the very same group a ‘mean and insignificant barrow,’ so low as to admit the plough to pass over it, produced a variety of ornaments of gold and amber, of a very unusual size, accompanying a skeleton which he deems to have been ‘that of some very distinguished British female’. Among the burned bones in another tumulus,

‘were found upwards of forty amber beads of various forms and sizes, some of jet, others of the vitrified sort called pully beads, and two of horn. Besides these articles, was a very curious ornament of amber, consisting of six separate pieces, which, when, strung together, formed a decorative part of the Briton’s dress. There were also the fragments of a small ornamented cup, and a little brass pin. From the nature and size of the articles found in this barrow, we may rationally conclude it contained the relics of some distinguished female.’ p. 46.

Sets of beads which appeared to have been strung for necklaces, were repeatedly found; with one interment there were no less than ‘forty-eight beads, sixteen of which were of ‘green and blue opaque glass, of a long shape, and notched ‘between, so as to resemble a string of beads; five were of ‘canal coal or jet; and the remaining twenty-seven were of ‘red amber; the whole forming a most beautiful necklace, and ‘such as a British female would not in these modern days of ‘good taste and elegance disdain to wear.’ One interment combined weapons of war with such trinkets as Sir Richard judges to be indicative of a female; and he therefore confers on this supposed British fair, the denomination of amazon.

So much of the apparatus of war was found with the human relics in some of the barrows, as to indicate unequivocally the resting place of some distinguished inflicter of death, himself possibly the victim of the illustrious trade. The ‘mighty ‘hunter’ was conspicuous by the memorials found in others, of the investigation of one of which we transcribe the account.

‘The first object that attracted our attention, was the skeleton of a small dog, deposited in the soil three feet from the surface;

at the depth of eight feet ten inches, we came to the bottom of the barrow, and discovered the following very perfect interment collected on a level floor. The body of the deceased had been burned, and the bones and ashes had been piled up in a small heap, which was surrounded by a circular wreath of horns of the red deer, within which, and amidst the ashes, were five beautiful arrow heads, cut out of flint, and a small red pebble. Thus we most clearly see the profession of the Briton here interred. In the flint arrow heads we recognise his fatal implements of destruction; in the stags' horns we see the victims of his skill as a hunter; and the bones of the dog deposited in the same grave, and above those of his master, commemorate his faithful attendant in the chace, and perhaps his unfortunate victim in death.'

In digging another, 'the workmen threw out the bones of several dogs, and some of deer, and on the floor found a human skeleton, which had been originally interred from north to south; but many of the bones had been displaced, probably owing to a recent' (a later) 'interment of burned bones, which had been deposited near the feet of this skeleton.' One interesting tumulus, which Sir Richard is inclined to denominate a family sepulchre, contained in one cist three distinct interments, which a careful and a skilful observation of the appearances of the chalk and mould ascertained to have been at three several times. On the floor of the cist was the primary deposite, two skeletons lying by the side of each other, with their heads to the north, and both extremely well preserved. One of them appeared, from the size of the bones, to have been a tall stout man; all their teeth were firm, and remarkably even. At their head was a drinking cup. Over these were five skeletons lying nearly side by side, two of them appearing to have been young persons. Above these was another skeleton, and in the lap of this had been placed, at a subsequent period, a rude urn, in an inverted position, and containing burned bones.

On observing here and there a notice, like that above, that some one of the disinterred skeletons was that of a tall and stout man, or that, as in another instance, (page 203) a thigh bone measured twenty inches, we have been tempted to wish some accurate physiologist could have attended these revocations of the ancient dead, in order to judge from the bones, of the dimensions of the living beings, as compared with the human animal of modern time. Our Author does not express any surmise of their having had any advantage generally over us in this respect.

We do not recollect any instances of anomalous or monstrous structure, except the following :

'On reaching the floor of the barrow we discovered four skeletons strangely huddled together. The bones were in a high state of pre-

servation, and one of the persons seemed to have had no forehead, the sockets of his eyes appearing to have been on the top of his head, and the final termination of the *vertebræ* turned up so much that we almost fancied we had found the remains of one of Lord Monboddo's animals.'

The works of art most commonly found in the tumuli, have already been incidentally mentioned. A large proportion of them contain the funeral urns, of baked clay, some of them of rude shape, and unornamented; but many of them ornamented, and some of them of a shape evincing some slight conception of elegance. The embellishments were effected while the clay remained soft, with a sharp instrument, with which were cut and dotted round the urn girdles of spots, and Vandyke or other patterns, worked with considerable regularity, and some of them requiring so many applications of the tool as to challenge our admiration of the quickness of hand which could finish them before the clay became dry. The sizes are extremely various; the largest ever found by our Author is $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and 15 inches diameter at the top; it has rude embossings round the brim, and in lines from the top to the bottom.

'Though we are informed,' says Sir R. Hoare, 'by Strabo, that pottery was one of the articles of barter between the Britons and the Phœnicians, I cannot persuade myself that any of the vases found in our Wiltshire *tumuli* could have been transported thither from so civilized a region. They are composed of very coarse materials, and so imperfectly baked, that I have seen one of them taken entire out of a barrow, and shiver into a thousand pieces by the mere action of the atmosphere upon it. They have been imperfectly baked, either in the sun, or the fire of the funeral pile.—Such, without exception, have been the urns found in our barrows; all claiming a rude and remote British origin. After the conquest of our island by the Romans, a new species of pottery was introduced among the Britons, beautifully moulded, finely glazed, and richly ornamented, numerous fragments of which are to be found in the villages of the Romanized Britons, but not the smallest morsel in any of the tumuli we have opened. The extreme rudeness of our sepulchral urns, as well as the articles deposited within our barrows, evidently prove their very high antiquity, and mark them of an era prior to the Roman invasion.' p. 27.

The small vessels properly called by our Author drinking cups, were found in considerable number, and with much variety of form and decoration; in both of which respects several of them are really beautiful. Many of them are quite diminutive; and very few are of a capacity at all adapted to the high style of conviviality. They are but very rarely, we think, of equal dimensions with that favourite kind of drinking cups, which awaited the Scandinavian heroes after death, in the Hall of Odin. It has been seen by some of our quotations, that

these vessels were placed indifferently near the head or the feet of the person entombed. One solitary instance has occurred of a *lid* to one of these vessels. The art of turning was unknown to the fabricators of this earthenware; they are all moulded by the hand, and of course have very seldom a perfect and symmetrical regularity of shape. There is another class of vessels, of shallower and flatter form, with perforations; these our Author has denominated incense-cups, as deeming it probable from these perforations, and from the extreme smoky blackness observed on some of them, that they might have been suspended with some substance which was to melt into the funeral fire.

A very large proportion of these vessels were found broken, from the superincumbent weight, and some of those that remained entire, could not, by any care, be removed whole from their ancient position.

The weapons were arrow heads, in a few instances of bone, generally of flint; hatchets of stone (if these were weapons); and daggers and spear heads, a few of flint, generally of brass. Some of these last are described and delineated as shaped and marked with considerable elegance. The stone hatchets are often very neatly, indeed elegantly cut; and not less so the *celts*, an implement which may be described as a long slender hatchet with the blunt end inserted into a short straight handle, in the manner of a chisel, instead of the usual form of being fixed on a long handle by a perforation in the middle. Several times the relics of a shield were detected, besides the instances mentioned in the following interesting descriptions.

—‘This barrow contained a skeleton interred from south-west to north-east, at the depth of three feet nine inches under the surface. The position in which we found this skeleton, would naturally lead us to suppose it to be the remains of some warrior slain in battle. The head was reclined on the breast, one of the arms thrown backwards, and some of the fingers were scattered about, yet there were no indications to lead us to suppose it had ever been disturbed. We found a part of the shield of the deceased lying by its side; it had been made of fir, and strengthened by slips of brass rivetted through, and though not thicker than a quarter of an inch, was quite firm, and had splinters remaining at the end where it was broken off. By the side of the skeleton lay a considerable quantity of corroded iron, which probably was once the sword or spear of the warrior; and with it some small bits of cloth, so well preserved, that we can distinguish clearly the size of the spinning, and that it is what we now term a kersey cloth. Every circumstance attending the finding this skeleton, induces us to think that this interment was subsequent to the original construction of the barrow; especially as we afterwards, near the bottom of it, discovered a cist of little depth, containing the burnt bones of the primary deposit.’ p. 79.

* The section produced the skeleton of a stout man, lying from west to east. On its right side, close to the thighs, was a two-edged sword, the blade two feet long, with rather an obtuse point, and no guarded hilt. It had been enclosed in a scabbard of wood, a considerable quantity of which still adhered to it. On the right side of the head lay a spear head of iron, and on the left, the *umbo* of a shield of the same metal, with which was found an iron buckle, a piece of leather, a stirrup of brass, perforated in several places, a thin bit of silver, and an iron knife, with several pieces of corroded iron. To the east of this skeleton, and in the same direction, we discovered two others, one of an adult, the other of a child four or five years old; and with them a small knife, and a piece of corroded lead.'

In the sepulchral tumulus of a Belgic warrior, as Sir Richard judges the 'skeleton extended at full length, with its head towards the north-east,' to have been, was found, together with various other articles, 'a large cone of iron, which formed 'the *umbo* of a shield, and was certainly affixed to wood, some 'of which still adhered to it. Near it were found two studs 'plated with silver, another small piece of the same metal, and 'a buckle and clasp of brass; all, most probably, appertaining 'to the shield. Besides the above articles, this warrior had a 'variety of iron arms buried with him, viz. a two-edged sword, 'two feet six inches long, and one and three quarters wide; 'another knife three inches long; a spear head, eleven inches 'long, and one and a half wide, and another six and a half 'long, and one and a quarter wide.'

Iron in the funeral deposits, is the decided constant evidence of an age subsequent to the highest British antiquity, that metal being never found in those interments which have the most unequivocally primitive signs; for instance, never by the side of those skeletons which have the lower extremities drawn up. Nevertheless, these interments with iron, if not remote from the coast, may be of an age preceding that of Cæsar, since he mentions that the inhabitants of the 'maritime regions,' had a little of this metal among them.—We should not forget to notice that in several of the interments bearing characters of the highest antiquity, small pieces of pure gold were found, constituting ornaments of various forms. Several of them were met with in the grave of a skeleton with the limbs gathered up, p. 14. Two of the richest deposits that were brought to light in the whole series of researches, were in barrows of the Normanton group, in the district of Amesbury. One of them was the funeral accompaniment of the large-built skeleton whose thigh-bone measured twenty inches. Besides a shield, and a variety of weapons, implements, and ornaments, there was a plate of gold, of the dimensions of seven inches by six, lined with wood, placed on the breast of the hero, the same situation

which it probably held when he was alive. It was marked with 'indented lines, cheques, and zig-zags, forming lozenge within 'lozenge, diminishing gradually towards the centre.' But even this portion of the panoply was less ornate than another of the articles, the handle of a dagger, studded with thousands of gold rivets as minute as the points of ordinary pins would be if cut off at the length of the eighth of an inch. These are driven into the wood perfectly close together, but at the same time in such an arrangement as to form beautiful zig-zag or Vandyke patterns. A good portion of the handle retained entire this elegant enchasement; but from spaces of it the pins had fallen off, and were found mixed with the mould. The account occurs near the end of the book, and Sir Richard pronounces this refinement of ancient art to excel any thing previously found, and to be, both in design and execution, such as 'could not be 'surpassed (if indeed equalled) by the ablest workman of 'modern times.'

Among the equipments of gentler order were several times found neatly made tweezers of ivory, and often rings and bracelets of various materials. A considerable number of articles occurred of which the use could not be even conjectured. One specimen was met with, (we forget whether more,) of the beads called adder-stones, which are recorded to have been held in great value among the Britons, either as objects of superstition, or *insignia* of distinction.

Among a number of little beads lying near the neck of a female skeleton, was a circular clasp of brass, on which was cut or stamped a rude imitation of the human face. This is noted by Sir Richard as a very remarkable object, being the solitary instance of any such attempt that has occurred to him in his investigation of barrows. Even this, miserably inartificial as it is, was too much for the genius of the primitive age; for some corroded remains of iron articles in the deposite indicated a later period of antiquity. Nor are there found imitations of any other object in nature, either in substance or in delineation; and this appears to us a somewhat wonderful fact, when we observe how intent those ancients of our country were on embellishing with sculpture, if it may be so denominated, their urns, drinking cups, and trinkets.

It is but in the minor proportion of the *tumuli* that there are found with the human relics any deposite evincing rank and importance in the individuals so interred; but sufficient evidence of this is given by the tumulus itself, as a kind of monument with which very few persons, comparatively, were honoured. What a number of mortals must have been laid obscurely in the earth for one that was distinguished by such a conspicuous and lasting memorial! Multitudes of those that

toiled in raising these massive and often carefully and finely shaped accumulations, might reflect, amid their labours, that no such record would ever tell that *they* had had a vital existence and had resigned it. It was not in virtue of having merely possessed the human nature, with its faculties, joys, and sufferings, that an individual was entitled, in retiring to his long and last repose, to have the spot distinguished and consecrated by an object adapted to prolong his memory in the minds of his contemporaries, and to excite inquisitive thought concerning him through indefinite ages. The flattering privilege was doubtless conferred by the laws of an artificial social order.

So small a portion of the population being thus distinguished, it may appear somewhat unaccountable that interments of the less honoured class are not often discovered; and especially that they were not discovered in any of our Author's excavations, excepting one or two, in the sites of the ancient British settlements. But in the cultivated parts a vast number of these remains have been destroyed by the operations of agriculture in the course of a number of centuries. In conversing with some of the very old labourers on the borders of Salisbury Plain, we have observed that nothing is more familiar in their recollection than their having met with skeletons, and having heard their comrades or sires relate stories of finding them. Many lie deeper than the ordinary reach of the plough, or spade, or pick-axe; multitudes have suffered decomposition in too humid a soil; and the unbroken downs may conceal, and even not far below their surface, a number sufficient of these undecayed frames, to form, under an influence like that described by the Prophet, 'an exceeding great army.'

We must now make haste toward a conclusion, with a very brief notice of what relates to the vestiges of ancient British residence, and of our Author's observations on Stonehenge.

It has been already stated, that the signs which betray the primeval villages, are slight irregular mounds and cavities, a richer appearance of the vegetation, springing from a darker mould; signs which seldom fail to be confirmed, on digging, by quantities of bones not human, of broken earthenware of the ancient British kind, with frequently the finer Roman pottery, and some Roman coins. Our indefatigable chorographer has noted many of these now solitary seats of ancient society; but he avails himself of one which he examined on Knook Down, in the district of Heytesbury, and which he describes as exhibiting the characteristic features with peculiar clearness, to present a lively picture, with an historic illustration. Some part of this, drawn into our page, may well stand instead of any attempt to combine the brief descriptive notices scattered through the various 'Itinera' into which the work

is divided. We have only to wish our readers could have the advantage of inspecting the kind of map-picture on which the sites and forms of these ancient towns are so well delineated.

'We have undoubted proofs from history and from existing remains that the earliest habitations were pits or slight excavations in the ground, covered and protected from the inclemency of the weather by boughs of trees and sods of turf. The high grounds were pointed out by nature, as the fittest for these early settlements, being less encumbered with wood, and affording a better pasture to the numerous flocks and herds, from which the erratic tribes of the first colonists drew their means of subsistence; but after the conquest of our island by the Romans, when, by means of their enlightened knowledge, society became more civilized, the Britons began to quit the elevated ridge of chalk hills, and seek more sheltered and desirable situations. At first, we find them removed into the sandy vales immediately bordering on the chalk hills; and at a later period, when the improved state of society under the Romans ensured them security, the vallies were cleared of wood, and towns and villages were erected in the plains near rivers, which, after the departure of the Romans, became the residence of the Saxons. But a considerable period must have elapsed before these important changes took place; for on our bleakest hills we find the luxuries of the Romans introduced into the British settlements, flues, hypocausts, stuccoed and painted walls, &c. &c. Yet not a single inscription has ever been discovered in any one of these British villages, that can throw any positive light on the æra in which they flourished or were deserted for a less exposed climate.'

'The site of these villages' (two, on Knook Down) 'is decidedly marked by great cavities and irregularities of the ground, and by a black soil. When the moles were more abundant numerous coins were constantly thrown up by them, as well as fragments of pottery, of different species. On digging in these excavations we find the coarse British pottery, and almost every species of what has been called Roman pottery, but which I conceive to have been manufactured by the Britons from Roman models; also *fibulæ*, and rings of brass worn as *armillæ* or bracelets, flat-headed iron nails, hinges of doors, locks and keys, and a variety of Roman coins, of which the small brass of the Lower Empire are the most numerous.'

'In digging within these British villages we have but rarely discovered any signs of building with stone or flint; but we have several times found very thin stones laid as floors of a room. The fire-places were small excavations in the ground, in which we have frequently found a large flat hearth stone; and in two parts of this extensive village we have discovered hypocausts, similar to those in the Roman villa at Pitmead, near Warminster. These are regular works of masonry, made in the form of a cross, and covered with large flat stones well cemented with mortar. We have also, during our investigations of this spot, repeatedly found

pieces of painted stucco, and of brick flues; also pit coal, and some fragments of glass or crystal rings, beads, &c.

‘In one of the banks raised for the old habitations, we discovered a skeleton with its head toward the north; at its feet was a fine black celt.’ ‘In this, as well as in the generality of other British villages, the attentive eye may easily trace out the lines of houses, and the streets, or rather hollow ways conducting to them. The whole adjoining country is also marked by the intersection of slight banks along the sides of the hills, which point to us the limits of ancient British cultivation; and in many instances the smallness of them will shew the contracted scale on which agriculture was at that time carried on.

‘That this ground was known and occupied by the Britons at a very early period, the interment of the skeleton with the black celt will amply prove; and that it continued as a settlement of the Romanized Britons, for a considerable length of time, will be equally substantiated by the numerous articles of iron, pottery, flues, glass, and coins, that have been dug up on the spot.’ pp. 84, 85.

In some of the ancient works of this class there are found much fewer signs of a more advanced state of society than in those of Knook Down. And so powerful is the spell which strikes and arrests the spirit from the deepest gloom of antiquity, if but man, as the victim of Death, is descried in that gloom, that we question whether most of our readers would not have felt a stronger impression in beholding the results of any experiment which disclosed the vestiges of an almost purely British inhabitation, than of those which brought to light so many tokens of the supervention of the Great Empire, imposing as is the character which that Empire has left lingering in even its most trifling memorials. These latter relics come associated indeed with many magnificent ideas, but they belong so much to ascertained history, that they come divested of the shadowy character of mystery, originality, and relation to *man himself* as antecedent to human institutions. This character has, in certain states of the mind at least, a still more irresistible influence on the imagination, though an infinitely simpler one, and in some sense humbler one, than that which affects us from all the magnificence, the factitious magnificence, of the Roman Empire.

In this one respect, therefore, Sir Richard's work will be subject to some diminution of interest while he brings it downward, as he intends to do, through the Roman and Saxon periods. But still, in all reason, it ought to be acknowledged and felt that the continual increase of knowledge and certainty, in other words, of historical elucidation, which will attend the progress, will be a valuable set-off against the decline of the charm of primitive antiquity; especially when it is considered

that the later races and times have been of incomparably more importance as to their effect on our present situation.

An ample share of attention is given to that grand but most enigmatical phenomenon, Stonehenge, a most interesting subject in the hands of so indefatigable and well provided an investigator, who in addition to all that description can convey to the reader, could present such striking images as those which meet the eye in the accurate and elegant engravings. He states fairly and fully the various theories, if they may be so denominated, preceded by the monkish legends, respecting the origin and design of this mysterious structure. And it is really curious to see with what confidence, and, in some instances, with what palpable deficiency of even the attainable information, ingenious or learned men have been capable of pronouncing on the subject. One or two of them are quite positive that this gigantic construction was the work of the Danes! Inigo Jones was sent to the spot by the erudite king James I., with orders to make himself and his royal master certain of all about it; and he dreamed that he saw there a Roman temple, of the Tuscan order, dedicated to Cœlus. He dreamed too, (for it is now clear he could not have *seen* any such thing,) that the great trilithons forming one of the inner circles, (if we may be allowed to use the term so inaccurately,) were in a regular hexagonal order. Mr. John Wood, another architect by profession, was equally inattentive to the evidence of the senses with respect to the positions of these trilithons. Even the learned Camden gives such a description of the work as to induce a suspicion that he never saw it. The plan which Sir Richard judges to be the most accurate, was published by Dr. Smith, in 1771, in a work in which Stonehenge is maintained to have 'been erected by the Druids for observing the motions of the heavenly bodies.' This plan differs but slightly from that of Dr. Stukely, for whose discriminating judgement, and industry in research, our Author testifies the greatest possible respect, considering his work as far more valuable than all others on the subject.

It should seem that Stukely was the first detector of a circumstance which alone was sufficient to put several of the theories to flight, namely, that in the barrows in the vicinity there are chippings of stone of identical qualities with the stones of the structure, (of one of which qualities there are no stones found elsewhere in Wiltshire,) and therefore clearly shewing whence they came. Such chippings repeatedly occurred in our Author's excavations in this enchanted neighbourhood. This proof of the priority, in time, of the structure to the tumuli, combined with the proof supplied by the primitive characteristics of the interments, that the tumuli are more ancient than the

Roman period, makes an instant end of no small share of vain speculation, and at one sweep clears the view all the way up to the British period; but then it closes in utter and final darkness.

Our Author is extremely cautious of speculating on the design of this mysterious monument of what may be so appropriately denominated the dark ages. He does not even, with any confidence, associate its origin and uses with Druidism, though he sometimes employs the denomination of Temple. Some of the acutest of our recent investigators of Celtic and Druidical history, have shewn, that even if Druidism was ever established in the part of Britain where Stonehenge remains, (one of the mightiest of those monuments which, instead of revealing, preserve inviolate the secrets of the past,) there is, in the ancient authors, no evidence that the horrid solemnities of that superstition were perpetrated in structures of stone. Dark groves are uniformly represented as its temples: and it is justly remarked that the locality and vicinity of Stonehenge, afford no traces or traditions of having ever been overshadowed with the gloom of deep forests of oak. After all the learning, enthusiasm, ingenuity, and confident opinion, of which this colossal circle, this '*Chorea Gigantum*' has been the subject, and after the important and interesting process also of excavations in the surrounding tumuli, by which this last meritorious antiquary has summoned the ancient dead to give evidence, we must submit to acknowledge, that though this grand array of rocks must have constituted an object and a place of the highest imaginable importance to the Britons,—might, perhaps, as Sir Richard presumes, have had to their minds, as much sapetity or attraction as Mecca to the Mahomedans, we have absolutely no means of deciding what it was that was done in its *adytum* or precincts; no means of knowing whether the scene now so solitary and silent, but once probably animated at some seasons with a vast assemblage of wild and inspirited countenances, was the grand court of barbarian judicature, or was the central imperial seat of a gloomy superstition, or drew the multitudes to the solemnities of both these national concerns. Nevertheless, it will probably be found that antiquarian ingenuity does not even yet despair; and, meanwhile, all who feel any interest in the monuments of the primitive race, must acknowledge great obligations to Sir R. Hoare, for the severe scrutiny with which he has surveyed the whole of the enchanted locality, for his patient, resolute industry in referring the confused ruins to the order of the original plan, and for the perspicuous and beautiful delineations.

It was reserved for Mr. Cunnington to suggest the idea,

which our Author has adopted, and which every observer who should be merely wishing to compliment the taste of the original designer of Stonehenge, will be disposed to adopt, that the two circles of smaller uprights are a later addition, foreign to the primary plan: they spoil its noble simplicity, and they are of a quite different kind of stone. The matter of taste is made extremely clear in an engraved view which is here given of the structure as it would have looked when complete in its grand exterior circle, and its interior oval of still more majestic trilithons; but this is of no weight as evidence to the matter of fact, because, in our ignorance of the purpose of the whole work, we cannot know but the ranges of smaller stones might be essential to that purpose.

In the next portion of his work our Author is to give the results of his investigations among the nearly annihilated remains of the still more ancient and enormous circle of stones at Abury.

Here we close this extended article. It is extended because we wished to give our readers not the general substance merely, but many of the distinct particulars, of a work of great interest, great cost, in every sense, and extraordinary merit. We have aimed to give strictly a representation of matters of fact, declining, like our Author, the hazardous, and, in some directions, hopeless ground of speculation.

The paper and typography of the book are of the richest kind; and a special tribute of applause is due to the plates, engraved by Basire, after drawings by Sir Richard's surveyor and draughtsman, Mr. P. Crocker. If we are less pleased with eight or ten maps of stations, than with the other seventy plates, it is not that they are not of good manual execution, but that they throw the face of the ground into an unnatural form. The ranges and branches of the eminences on the great plains, are made so roundly prominent, so defined, so cramped in at the base, that they suggest the idea of a large peeled oak cut down, and resting with its branches extended on the ground. But the plans of camps, mounds, and barrows, (a sort of combination of map and view,) are excellent, and the very numerous plates of the spoils of the tumuli are superlatively so.

Art. II. *A (An) Historical View of the State of the Protestant Dissenters in England, and of the Progress of Free Enquiry and Religious Liberty, from the Revolution to the Accession of Queen Anne.* By Joshua Toulmin, D.D. pp. 592. Price 12s. Longman and Co. 1814.

MANY years have elapsed since the respectable Author of this volume announced his intention of preparing a History of the Protestant Dissenters. Such a work could not

perhaps have been undertaken by a more proper person than the Editor of Neal's History of the Puritans, whose studies and connexions, combined with his well known and ardent attachment to the genuine principles of religious liberty, peculiarly qualified him for the office. The first part of the projected work is now before the public. The circumstances by which its earlier appearance was prevented, are stated in a Preface, from which it seems that the Author's plan would have required two additional volumes for its completion. But with the volume now before us, Dr. Toulmin's labours have terminated, and the work in its unfinished state, must be classed among the numerous instances of disappointed hopes, and of purposes broken off by death.

The contents of this volume are divided into six chapters. The *first* includes the History of Dissenters as blended with the political occurrences of the times and the measures of government. The *second* exhibits a view of the Controversies which were agitated in the period between the Revolution and the death of King William; among which, the controversy respecting the rights, powers, and privileges of Convocations, the discussion of the Trinitarian question, and the disputes on the subject of Justification, among Dissenters, are the principal. The *third* treats of the internal history of the Protestant Dissenters, and contains accounts of their academies, and of the different sects as they existed at the Revolution. The *fourth*, notices the charitable institutions of the time. The *fifth* contains a concise review of theological publications. The *sixth* presents us with biographical sketches of eminent persons and writers among the Dissenters. An Appendix of useful documents is added to the whole, and many interesting and valuable notes are interspersed throughout.

The transactions which are detailed in the first part of this volume, are of a most important kind. They constitute a new era in our national history, and ought deeply to interest the Christian, the philosopher, and the politician.

We have in a former article* traced the progress of Nonconformity through the oppressive reigns of Elizabeth, James the First, and Charles the First, during which periods the penal laws which had originated in a despotic authority assumed over the conscience, were enforced with insulting rigour. Our sketch terminated at that iniquitous event which served to try the virtue and to display the heroism of so many illustrious confessors, while it exhibits in the most forcible manner, the evil tendency of ecclesiastical establishments. The Act of Uniformity, so long as it remains unrepealed, must, in spite of

* Vol. III. N. S. p. 274.

attempts to palliate its enormity, be considered as a disgrace on the annals of the Church of England.

On his restoration, Charles II. renewed and solemnly promulgated his declaration issued from Breda, in which he published his resolution 'to promote the power of Godliness, to encourage the public and private exercises of religion, and to take care of the due observation of the Lord's day, to grant indulgence to tender consciences, and that no man should be called in question for differences in matters of religion which did not disturb the peace of the kingdom.' These were the pledge and promise of a prince.

Scarcely had the declaration circulated through the land, when, in direct violation of its stipulations, the *Corporation Act* was passed, by which all who refused to conform to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, as by law established, were excluded from municipal offices. In the course of the same year, the Quakers, who had petitioned for a toleration, were subjected to the operation of a new law, which prohibited their assemblies, confiscated their property, and doomed their persons to banishment. Thus early was the nation taught the sincerity of the monarch's most solemn promises; and thus early were the infatuation and the wickedness of the restored house of Stuart, unequivocally manifested, and which, at the distance of no long period, wrought out their final ruin. "Put not your trust in princes," was the ominous exclamation of the unhappy Strafford in reference to his ungrateful master; and no sooner had the succeeding monarch received the sceptre from the hands of a free nation, who might then have transferred it, as they afterwards did transfer it, to other hands, than he began, in utter contempt of every principle of honour and equity, to persecute, with fine, imprisonment, and exile, many of the best men in the kingdom, merely on account of their religious opinions, which he had pledged his word should subject them to no molestation whatever.

The Act of Uniformity was so constructed, that it could not be efficacious for the purification of the Church from error and corruption; it could only avail for the expulsion of the conscientious and the pious from its community. Besides the preposterous 'assent and consent to all and every thing in the Book of Common Prayer,' which it prescribed, it required from the ministers of the Church a declaration, 'that it is not lawful on any pretence whatever to take arms against the king;' a demand which could not be conceded without sacrificing the rights of the nation. If for the conduct of the Dissentients in this particular, modern Churchmen presume to censure them, they must, to be consistent, impose equal condemnation on their conforming fathers, whose resistance to the authority of James the

Second, furnishes a vindication of the Nonconformist divines, sufficient to silence their modern calumniators. The Act of Uniformity has, we should imagine, in the course of a century and a half, imparted all its benefits to the Church. Whatever it may have effected, we know what it has *not* accomplished. It has not kept either the idle or the profane from eating its bread, and ministering at its altars; it has not either healed old divisions, or prevented new animosities. The Church is, even now, distracted with schism; her ministers are engaged in bitter contentions with one another. The Act of Uniformity is nugatory and impotent, except in its excluding power. As to any effect in producing harmony of opinion and of doctrine within the pale of the Church, it has become a dead letter.

In less than two years from the time of the passing of the Act of Uniformity, the *Conventicle Act* was passed. This act, enacted for the purpose of putting down all nonconformist worship, provided, that if more than five persons of the age of sixteen years, besides the household, were present at any religious meeting not allowed by the liturgy, or practice of the Church of England, they were respectively, on the oath of one witness, and on conviction by one justice of the peace, to be imprisoned, for the first offence, three months, or fined; for the second, six months, or fined ten pounds; and for the third offence, the party was to be expatriated, on pain of death if he returned. The *Oxford Act* followed up these penal severities. It enacted that all Nonconformist ministers who should refuse to swear 'not to endeavour at any time any alteration of government in church or state,' should be excluded from inhabiting corporations, and should not be suffered to come within five miles of any city, or corporate town, or borough, or place where they had preached.

Such were the penal statutes enacted during the first five years of Charles the Second; and the reflections which they suggest, demand to be cherished with seriousness. A monarch notorious for irreligion and licentiousness, is here exhibited, issuing declarations, and putting his signature to Acts and Proclamations, which purported to be for the promotion of true Godliness, and at the same moment he presumes to interpose human authority between the conscience of man and the Supreme Being, imperiously dictating a form of worship repugnant to the views and feelings which some of the most enlightened men entertained with regard to the requisitions of the Divine law. To complete the iniquity, we contemplate as the victims of the most grievous punishments, men whose morals were unimpeachable, whose peaceable demeanour was not questioned, in whom the most conspicuous characteristics were a good conscience and a holy life. And yet this complication

of hypocrisy and cruelty in the monarch, is not to be ascribed to his personal character: except so far as his indolence and want of feeling, together with his hereditary attachment to arbitrary power, led him to yield to the counsels of those bigoted and designing partisans of an ecclesiastical institute, who sought to make religion the engine of secular power.

It was not till the designs of James the Second to restore popery as the national religion, began to awaken the suspicions of the clergy, that the Nonconformists experienced any relaxation of the severity of persecution. The inroads made by that arbitrary monarch on the Universities, his assumption of a dispensing power, for the purpose of setting aside the penal statutes, and the publication of his declarations for liberty of conscience,—which were all intended as measures for the introduction of popery, alarmed the partisans of the existing church establishment; and now those very persons who had solemnly pledged themselves to the royal authority, who had so stoutly maintained the abominable doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, raised the standard of rebellion against ‘*the Lord’s anointed.*’ Uniting their counsels, they sought aid from foreigners, to resist and to control an authority which they had declared it was *damnable on any pretence whatever* to oppose. They crouched to the Dissenters, and endeavoured, by canting solicitations and affected assurances of good-will, to gain their co-operation. “We are brethren,” became suddenly the style in which Episcopalian Churchmen spake of Dissenters. A long series of years had now passed, during which the Nonconformists had been subject to the inflictions of penal laws. Long had they been reviled, stripped, imprisoned, and exiled, but the influence of the clergy had never been exerted to procure the mitigation of their sufferings. Their sympathy and their justice had remained dormant while the Nonconformists were wandering as outcasts, and languishing in noxious jails, breathing the contagion of death. Why, when they could have visited the ejected ministers sick and in prison, and ministered to them, did they forget that they were brethren? Why was the disposition to recognise them as such, first manifested at a time when their own usurped authority began to be endangered? Why out of the same mouths, under a mere change of political circumstances, proceeded blessing and cursing?

It was a most favourable circumstance for the Nonconformists, that William, to whom on the abdication of James the crown of England was offered, had been educated in a community in which the high pretensions of Episcopalians were regarded as nugatory, and that the notions which he entertained on the subject of religious liberty, were of a more liberal

nature than those which had distinguished any of the preceding English sovereigns. Under the auspices of the new monarch, the persecution of the Nonconformists was arrested, and their right to worship apart from the National Church, was recognised by the Toleration Act, which was passed in May, 1689. 'When we reflect,' says Dr. Toulmin, 'on the inefficiency of the more enlarged views, and the liberal wishes expressed by the king; on the unsuccessful issue of other conciliating measures which were proposed; and on the implacable hatred to the Nonconformists shewn at that time by the clergy, who discovered a disposition to renew old severities; it may seem a matter of surprize that this Act was carried.' The temper and indeed the proceedings of the Convocation, which was assembled soon after the passing of this celebrated Act, afford sufficient evidence to exclude the clergy from the praise of providing for the security of Dissenters. *The Toleration Act did not emanate from the Church, but resulted from the unusual circumstances attending a change of Monarchs, wisely improved by the new Sovereign.* The violent struggles, the insubordination, the unvaried rejection of every liberal proposition, and the determined spirit of hostility towards Dissenters, which marked the proceedings of the Convocation, too clearly prove, that if the measure of religious freedom which the Toleration Act recognised in Protestant Dissenters, had depended on the vote of the clergy, it would never have been allowed. Our sentiments with regard to the Act itself, are in strict accordance with the following remarks.

'But after every encomium to which it has a just claim has been bestowed upon it, this first charter of religious freedom was confused and partial. It by no means repealed all the penal statutes on the subject of religion. It left the laws against the papists in full force. It did not abrogate the statutes of Elizabeth and James I. that enact the inflicting of certain penalties on such as absent themselves from divine worship in the Established Church. It still left heresy subject to cognizance in the ecclesiastical court; and a clergyman convicted of it to deprivation, degradation, and excommunication; and a layman to the latter with all its train of severities. Its operation and benefits are limited to Protestant Dissenters only; and did not embrace all of them, for Unitarian Christians are expressly excepted. As to those whom it does comprehend, its influence is confined. It has its exclusive clauses, not only requiring from all who would plead the benefits of it, the oaths to government, but exacting of their teachers subscription to the thirty-nine articles, with an express exception, indeed, of those relating to the government and powers of the church, and to infant baptism; but it did not supersede the Corporation and Test Acts; and, at this time, after repeated applications to parliament renewed in different periods, the Dissenters still lie under the obloquy, still feel all the disabilities,

attached to those Acts. The Toleration Act did not exonerate the Dissenters from the obligation imposed on them to contribute to the maintenance of the public religious establishment, though they do not attend on its ministrations. The Toleration Act did not give any sanction or permission to the solemnization of marriage in their own assemblies, and by their own ministers.' pp. 23, 24.

It may afford matter for astonishment, that notwithstanding the enlightened feelings and accumulated knowledge of the nineteenth century, Dissenters in England should be still exposed to the obloquy and impositions of the greater part of the above specified restrictions and disabilities. Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles is indeed no longer required of Dissenting teachers; Socinians are no longer excepted from the degree of toleration extended to other classes of Dissenters; but the Corporation and Test Acts remain in full force; contributions for the support of a Church to which they do not belong, are still levied on Dissenters; and fines are still imposed in certain instances upon meetings for religious worship among them. These we can view only as direct abridgements of that freedom in matters of religion, which is the inalienable right of rational and accountable agents, the authority of human legislation being related only to civil objects. Toleration, in all its forms, is nothing else than modified injustice; where it is largest in its provisions, and most liberal in its spirit, it still retains the character of an encroachment upon human conscience. Nor can we ever concede, that permission to profess the Christian faith and to worship God, is either to be solicited, or accepted as a favour, at the hand of man. No human creature can ever of right be laid under legitimate obligation to another in respect to these sacred duties.

What then, it will be exclaimed, is the State to be without a religion? If by the 'State' be meant the persons on whom the executive powers of civil government are devolved, the highest personages in the kingdom, there can be but one reply, By no means. Religion is as essential to *their* welfare, as it is necessary for the good of their subjects. It constitutes their highest interest, for "with God there is no respect of persons." The fruits of the Spirit would be most excellent ornaments in princes, and the exemplification of Christian virtues in the wide circle of their movements, could not fail of promoting in an eminent degree the cause of religion.

Or are we to understand, by the 'State,' those persons who transact, through all its ramifications of office, the business of the government, comprising the executive, legislative, and judicial functions. Nothing is more deplorable than that they should be without religion. Were they to imbibe the pure spirit of the Gospel, and to regulate their deportment according to

its laws, how greatly might they advance the prosperity of society! We should not then be subjected to hear political men enlarging on the duty and glory of defending the Church, while they pour contempt on its institutions by habitually and boldly neglecting the observance of them. The visible influence of religion in palaces and in courts, on legislators and on men of high official stations, is an admirable means of recommending it to the world. What laws are wholly inadequate to effect in aid of true piety, such an influence would assuredly command.

But if by the State the great body of the people at large be intended, and if the consequence apprehended from unbounded toleration be, that the nation would soon be without a religion; we must contend that no human legislators are authorized to govern the conscience, or to provide a religion for their subjects. Religion is important to the community only as connected with the sincere belief and profession of the individuals who compose that community. It is a matter of conviction, not of civil obedience. It forms no part of the social compact, except as it constitutes the basis of individual character. It rests not on the authority of human legislators, but on the accountability of man as the subject of a higher government.

If religious inquiry be proper for one rational being, it is proper for all intelligent creatures upon earth; and if religious profession be the choice of any individual, acting from the result of his examination of religious tenets, it must, for the very same reasons which make it obligatory in such instance, be acknowledged as the right of all other individuals. Whatever is predicated of the rights and obligations of one man, in reference to religion, must be predicated of those of all men. To examine, to choose, to believe for himself in religious matters, enter into the very essence of duty, no less than they partake of the nature of a right. Authoritative influence is, therefore, of necessity excluded. No member of the community, how elevated soever his station in a civil relation, is entitled to say to another, You must believe this set of propositions; you must support religious worship in this manner; you must receive this form of doctrine and discipline. Who is the man that is authorized to use this language?—that may propose his will as the measure of religious obligation to others? The right of one person is exactly the same as the right of another; and as the right is purely identical with individual accountability to God alone, prescription or authority in religion has no place in point of justice among men. This is precisely the state of things which the Christian religion, as exhibited in the New Testament, contemplates. It acknowledges no religious rights but such as are individual and common to all men. Would the State—that is, the people, be without religion, if there were no connexion

between civil and ecclesiastical polity? Would there be no religion, in England now, had the king and parliament never interfered with any other than civil objects, or had the whole ecclesiastical establishment never existed? Would the evidences of Christian truth be impaired, would its excellence and beneficent character be less apparent, or would its Divine efficiency as a means be diminished, by detaching religion wholly from matters of human legislation? Was there no true religion in Rome before the days of Constantine?

Toleration then, at the best, under any modification, must involve an infringement of human rights, and prove at last but a palliation of injustice. It assumes what never can be in truth conceded, that the permission to worship God is to be accepted by man as a favour from his fellow-creature: that religious profession must be held by human grant. Surely it is to the last degree presumptuous, to assign religion, in any of its forms and practices, to that class of things which man may of his favour dispense to man. That which men may bestow as an expression of their condescension and favour, they may without injustice withhold; no one can claim it as a right; it must be received as a boon. But is the worship of the God of heaven of this description? With as much reason and with as much justice may our coming into life, our health, our salvation, our misery, be assumed by man as things at his control.

The purposes for which civil society is formed, are alone the objects of which civil rulers have cognizance. Their office is established in the community, only for the maintenance of political order and political good. The laws which form the rule of conduct to the government, can have relation only to the external behaviour of its members, and are necessarily confined to temporal objects. As the offences which they may punish are purely civil, so the order and obedience which they may enjoin, are exclusively civil. It is the state of the mind towards the community or any particular member of it, manifested in overt acts, that is the object of praise or of blame, of reward or of punishment, by the civil power: with the state of the heart and the course of man's life toward God, it cannot interfere; these are beyond its jurisdiction. The authority of a State is correct in its exercise, when it is employed to found and support institutions of a beneficial political character; but it is perverted and abused when it attempts to establish religious societies, which can never be formed on a proper basis except as they are voluntary, and maintained by the spontaneous exertions of the congregated individuals, without external patronage or control.

It is unquestionably the duty of civil rulers, to regard with

equal attention the whole political body, and to know the subjects of the State strictly as political persons. This duty may be discharged where no ecclesiastical establishment is sanctioned and endowed; it can never be performed where a modification of religion is incorporated by the civil power. This latter is an unnatural state of things, equally subversive of the subject's freedom, and incompatible with the obligations of the ruler. The latter must necessarily appear as unjust; the former as oppressed. The favoured sect receives a consequence which tends to the degradation of other sects. Her ministers and members assume an importance over other religious teachers and professors, who, though they do not belong to the Church, belong to the nation, are as useful in the community, as respectable in themselves, and ought not to be lowered in public estimation on account of their religious profession, which, if they be honest men, they can no more avoid than they can change the colour of their skin, or inhabit the clouds.

Toleration connected with test laws, assumes the power of punishing men politically, for conduct which is not political, and levies a severe penalty on a man's fidelity to God. In the eyes of government all its subjects should stand alike fair, and equally eligible to fill every official station to which their talents and capacity may be adapted. Nothing should disqualify subjects in the eyes of government, but political incompetency or disaffection. Religion cannot possibly be a disqualifying thing. A truly religious man must be what he is in his religious profession; whatever that may be, it ought not to incapacitate him as a member of civil society. Nor would it were society what it should be. All Dissenters in England are, however, in the eyes of its government, classed together as unworthy persons. They can fill no office of magistracy; they are excluded from all public functions; shut out from all the emoluments and honours of the State, and politically degraded. They are all included in a sweeping bill of exclusion, and their fidelity to conscience, their devotedness to God, are the only parts of their character on which such a censure and such a punishment are founded: for these alone create the difference which subsists between them and their fellow-subjects. Allowing to the executive authority the right of nominating to office, we contend that it has no right to assume *religious distinction* as the mark of ineligibility. We cannot better define persecution, than in the words of Dr. Furneaux: 'It is an injury inflicted on a person for his religious principles or profession only.' We must therefore regard the test laws as instruments of persecution,

and the numerous and respectable Protestant Dissenters of this kingdom as a class of much injured subjects.

A writer, whose profound work* is destined to receive an attention appropriate to its rare merits, has justly remarked, that ' Toleration is a legal and authoritative declaration, that the exclusive patent by which civil establishments of religion are founded and supported, is *unreasonable*: that the penal statutes, by which it is fenced, are *unjust and cruel*; and that no man's life, or property, or civil reputation and interests, *ought to be suspended on the quality of his faith, or on the modes of his worship*. While we plead for the reasonableness and propriety of abolishing ecclesiastical patents, we plead for no more than a *perfect* and *unconfined* toleration (the unrestricted religious liberty) of all his Majesty's good subjects. Were all laws, fraught with the *negative* as well as the *positive* punishment of Protestant Dissenters, finally revoked, charters of exclusive civil privilege would, in the nature of the thing, become entirely void; society would flourish under the salutary influence of an equitable administration; and government, propitious to all, according to the measure of their civil desert, would no longer bestow public encouragement according to any other rule. Indeed, no civil administration can say as that Divine person in the gospel,—Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with my own? Public encouragements and rewards are not the independent property of any administration, which it may dispense at pleasure. They are in the hands of magistrates as TRUSTEES for society. These are stewards, and according to the nature of the thing ought to be *economists*. Their commission implies an obligation to divide to every man his share of public rewards, whenever he shall make it *his property*, by *deserving* it of civil society. The rewards which society hath lodged in their hands, are not transferable to any, on any account which is foreign to the civil interests of society. If the contrary was supposed, they would be guilty of purloining, of robbing society of its property, and of squandering away the stock with which they are entrusted. As no member of society can be entitled to more than he deserves, were the trustees of society to confer more, on any *private* consideration whatever, they would become unfaithful in their trust; would hurt civil society; and would especially injure those, who, on account

* A Review of Ecclesiastical Establishments in Europe. By the Rev. William Graham. 1796.

‘ of their *equal* or *superior* desert, have *similar*, or more
‘ *extensive* demands on society.

‘ It is clear, as the meridian light, that were Government to
‘ act consistently with its own approved principles in grant-
‘ ing a limited toleration, by making it complete ; were none
‘ laid under discouragement by penal laws, on any account
‘ that is *foreign* to the real interests of civil society ; and
‘ were public rewards impartially conferred, according to the
‘ degree of civil merit, and without any regard to religious
‘ persuasions which affect not the civil interests of mankind ;
‘ an inconceivable addition would be made to the happiness,
‘ prosperity, and peace of the British empire.’ *Graham's Re-*
view, &c. pp. 197—199.

The principles of religious freedom admit, as it appears to us, of no qualification on the ground of human policy. Still, much is due to the present Administration for the practical deference to the rights of conscience which they have repeatedly manifested. Dissenters are indebted to the general spirit of the age, and to the enlightened policy of their rulers, for not only the removal of many penal disabilities, but for a more general recognition of their claims as subjects and citizens. Still, it is a great mistake to imagine that religious liberty is under no restraint in England. Besides the civil disabilities under which Dissenters of all sorts are still sentenced to remain, the amended Toleration Act contains enactments essentially infringing on religious liberty.

Every master of a house in which more twenty persons, exclusive of the family, shall be assembled for the purpose of religious worship, may incur, as the statute now stands, a fine of *Twenty Pounds* : and a person preaching in such an assembly, may also be fined to the same amount. This penalty will be incurred in all cases of the preceding kind if the house or building be not registered. Can this be deemed just ? Should religious worship under *any circumstances* be a penal transaction ? In other cases where much more numerous bodies are assembled, there is no restriction of this kind. No fine can be levied on the master of a house, if, besides his family, he invite fifty of his friends or neighbours to an entertainment, a dinner, or a supper. No penalty is exacted of a person who should fill his house with men and women at a concert or a ball. The largest rooms at an inn or a tavern may be crowded with company, and no pecuniary fine attaches to the proprietor or the guests. Why should religious services be more obnoxious in the eye of the law than the proceedings to which we refer ? Why should religion be the particular thing selected to attach criminality to a meeting ? The New Toleration Act, 52 Geo. III. ch.

155. enacts, 'That from and after the passing of this Act 'no congregation or assembly for religious worship of Protestants shall be *permitted* or *allowed*, unless, &c.'" This language clearly implies that the religious worship of Protestants depends on the will of the Legislature. It imports not the absolute right of Protestants to worship as they please, but suspends their congregated worship on the inclination of others towards them. Throughout the Act there is not a single expression acknowledging the exclusive religious rights of men. The original Toleration Act, 1 Will. and Mary, cap. 18. concedes 'some ease to scrupulous consciences;' and the New Act assumes expediency as the ground of its provisions. An Act of Parliament *permitting* and *allowing* the members of a family intercourse with each other, how strange soever it would appear, would be quite as consistent with inalienable right, as an Act *permitting* and *allowing* Protestants, or any other denomination of religionists, to assemble for religious worship.

If men injure others in their person, or reputation, or property, let the offenders be punished. "If it be a matter of "wrong or of lewdness," let it be brought before the judge; but let not inoffensive, nay, we will add, praise-worthy conduct be visited with punishment. This however is provided by the Toleration Act as recently modified; and such a circumstance, independent of all other facts and arguments, is a satisfactory proof of the iniquity which an establishment of religion by the civil power involves. Religious worship in any place, at any time, by whatever description of religious persons it may be conducted, can never be the subject of prohibitory laws by a civil legislature founded on a pure basis. The demands of religion can never be satisfied but by an entire release from every disabling and penal statute. In this state alone she displays her spotless majesty. Loosened from the bonds of secular institutions, she walks at large, and appears in her true character, a visiter from heaven among the children of men; to guide their erring steps, to enlighten their darkened minds, to purify their affections, to make them great by conferring on them a holy immortality, and to conduct them in her train to that celestial abode whence she descended.

The Rev. Thomas Cotton, M.A. of whom some account is inserted p. 255, was a witness of the scenes of persecution against the Protestants in France which followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantz. At Saumure, the congregation all in tears, the singing of the last psalm, the pronouncing of the blessing, and afterwards all the people passing before their ministers to receive their benedictions, at their last religious assembly; —At Charenton, the vast assemblage which formed the

church, the number of Protestants devoted to banishment, slavery, and the most barbarous deaths ;—were distressing spectacles which deeply affected him.

‘ On his journey from Poitou, Mr. Cotton was deeply impressed by the agitations of mind and the expressions of an old gentleman who came into an inn nearly at the the same instant with him, who stood leaning on his staff, and shaking his head, and weeping, cried out, “ *Unhappy France!* If I and mine were “ but now entering into some country of refuge and safety, where “ we might have liberty to worship God according to our con- “ sciences, I should think myself the happiest man in the world, “ though I had only *this staff* in my hand.” ’

‘ The Fourth Chapter of the work, entitled ‘ New Charitable ‘ Institutions’ will highly gratify the humane and benevolent reader. It is pleasing to reflect that in the troublous times to which this volume of the History relates, the energies of Christians were directed to the improvement of mankind, and the education of the poor appears conspicuous among their works of mercy. It is especially honourable to Dissenters that they took the lead in the formation of Charity Schools. The origin of these is described in the following passage.

‘ In 1687, in the reign of King James II. Mr. Poulton, a jesuit, gave public notice that he would instruct the children of the poor gratis; and on this plan opened a school in Gravel-lane, Southwark, one of the poorest neighbourhoods in the city, where a great proportion of the inhabitants were watermen and fishermen of the lowest class. The proposal was deemed insidious, as it was also popular; and this person under the appearance of compassion and liberality to the poor was considered as artfully adopting a scheme to disseminate the principles of popery, and to make converts to it from the rising generation. Three respectable gentlemen, members of the congregation of the Protestant Dissenters, under the ministry of Mr. Nathaniel Vincent, Mr. Arthur Shallet, Mr. Samuel Warburton, and Mr. Ferdinando Holland, alarmed at the obvious design, and animated by zeal for protestantism, exerted themselves to counteract the operation of the jesuit’s measure, by the foundation of a school for the instruction of the poor in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the principles of the Protestant religion, to be supported by voluntary subscriptions, donations, and legacies, and by two annual collections. This was the first school opened by Protestant Dissenters; and it reflects lasting honour on its founders, that it was set up on truly liberal principles; namely, “ that objects should be received into it without distinction of parties, the general good being intended.” ’ pp. 429, 430.

As the continuation and completion of the work are prevented by the decease of the Author, it is unnecessary for us in concluding our notice of it, to enlarge in our opinion of

its merits. The spirit which pervades it is liberal and good. The impartiality demanded by the nature of the work is well preserved, and it is written in a style grave, perspicuous, and chaste. If we were addressing ourselves to the Author, we should probably suggest that the space allowed to the account of the Baptists is in rather more than fair proportion to that which is occupied in the description of other denominations. The copy of verses inserted at p. 186, might with propriety have been omitted.

Art. III. *Parliamentary Portraits: or Sketches of the Public Character of some of the most distinguished Speakers in the House of Commons.* Originally printed in the Examiner. 8vo. pp. 236. Price 8s. Baldwin and Co. 1815.

THE English House of Commons, we venture to assert, is still incomparably the noblest political assembly in the world. Although our senators do not present the majestic spectacle of aged and reverend forms with snow-white beards, invested with the flowing *toga*, such as struck awe into the barbarian invaders of ancient Rome;—although no scenic pomp, such as attends the conclaves of cardinals and the levees of princes, confers outward splendour on their proceedings;—although those proceedings are in fact vastly less dignified and less interesting, and characterized by a display of intellect, feeling, or energy, far less than one might be innocently led to anticipate;—still, that such an assembly exists, an assembly of commoners and free men, constituting an essential part of the national government, and actually transacting in the face of society, the business of legislation, which elsewhere is for the most part carried on in mystery and darkness, in the chambers and cabinets of Power:—this is a circumstance in itself replete with grandeur. And who can tell what influence the existence of one such assembly may have on the rulers of other countries, to deter them from enormities of aggression on the liberties of their subjects, or to induce them to concede a measure of freedom? The galling recollection, that in this one assembly the deeds of princes will be canvassed with unshackled freedom and with absolute impunity, and the wrongs of humanity obtain audience if not redress; the apprehension that from the heart of the British people a voice may go forth, to rouse and animate the enslaved and oppressed, may well be supposed to have had a decided influence in strengthening the restraints of fear or of policy. An institute like that in which our constitutional liberty is embodied, constitutes a beacon which the people of other countries, who languish for liberty, must regard with hope, and at which tyrants must sicken with dismay.

And with regard to this nation, we are not certain whether the very circumstances, which on a nearer view of the subject, are calculated to detract from the impressiveness of such an assembly, and to lessen the public confidence in its decisions, ought not to enhance in our estimation, the value of our constitutional privileges. As it is of infinitely greater moment that the British people should be taught to think well of their institutions, than that they should implicitly reverence the administrators of power, they should be taught to perceive how excellently secured are those liberties which Power dares not infringe, and Corruption cannot quite destroy; how valuable must be those constitutional forms which, when the spirit of the constitution slumbers, still determine a boundary that the minister of the Crown dares not pass! How admirably framed must be that complicated machinery, which so inconsiderable a degree of collective intellectual energy, is competent to keep in motion, so as to effect the general purposes of government. Those who most sincerely urge the necessity of Parliamentary Reform, cannot be supposed blind to the inestimable advantages resulting from even that *partial* representation which the country enjoys. The national will is at least recognised as a party necessarily co-operating in the acts of government, and it is still to a certain degree exerted; controlling, if we may so express it, the physical elements of power, and modifying the authority of law. The House of Commons, in fact, constitutes a standing recognition of the nature of the compact on which legitimate authority is founded, while what it has actually achieved for Europe, forms a no less striking illustration of the true nature of national power.

When we allude to the moderate rate of ability which is exhibited by the members of the present House of Commons, it is obvious, that we do not presume to sit in judgement on the general qualifications of its leaders as statesmen; nor would we by any means disparage that diligent attention to the details of political business, which characterizes the present administration. It is in reference to the low degree of intellectual exertion in debate, the dearth of eloquence, and the substitution of a mechanical plan of oratorical warfare for an independent adherence to constitutional principles, that we allow of the justness of this moderated estimate.

‘Subjects of almost incalculable interest,’ remarks our Portrait painter, ‘are to be discussed: peace and war, laws, morals, manufactures, commerce, all that concerns the wealth, the happiness, the glory of nations. Can the imagination conceive a finer field for oratorical emulation; more powerful incentives to awaken the mind to develop all its energies and all its graces through its noble organ, the tongue? What is the fact? About half a dozen speakers, who

have acquired a certain fluent mediocrity, are allowed to settle the disputed proposition with little knowledge and less spirit, whilst the rest remain idle and almost unconcerned hearers, sometimes yawning, sometimes sleeping, and sometimes, to evince perhaps their claims to sit in a speaking assembly, shouting in a style to be envied only by a Stentor or a whipper-in. It is indeed matter of humiliating reflection that, in a country like England, whose philosophers, and poets, and artists, may go side by side with the proudest names of antiquity—whose wealth and power make Greece dwindle into insignificance, and might dispute the precedence even with the gigantic despotism of Imperial Rome; in a country too, blest with a popular congress, where the voices of the chiefs of the nation may be heard, that scarcely one man has arisen who deserves the title of orator; scarcely one, who like Cicero, by the mere power of words, has darted the public indignation against a state delinquent, or like Demosthenes has electrified a whole people with one universal impulse of patriotism.' pp. 3, 4.

Criticus, (as the Author styled himself in the *EXAMINER*,) proceeds to remark, that it would require a long dissertation to investigate the cause of this oratorical inferiority of our countrymen. He will not allow that it is to be ascribed in any degree to the good sense of the nation; or that it can be made a question whether Pericles and Demosthenes, Cæsar and Cicero, had as much good sense as Lords Liverpool and Castlereagh. This is, however, rather flippantly said, since the comparison can not with fairness be drawn between individuals, and we suspect that at no period could Greece or Rome present an assembly of which Pericles or Cicero might be assumed to be an average specimen. Besides, our Author in the subsequent sentences would seem to admit, that under the present circumstances of the case, it might be an indication of good sense to abstain from a useless expenditure of eloquence.

'A better reason,' he says, 'may perhaps be found in the constitution of that Assembly, which only assumes the character of being popular; and, while it pretends to regulate its decisions by deliberative wisdom, in fact listens only to the voice of power. In such a meeting, however grand the matter of debate, there is little stimulus for any but the most enterprising mind to waste its powers on a predetermined audience: for what could the voice of an angel do against a silent vote bought in silence! These purchased decisions, these previously bargained securities against the possible effects of eloquence, are sufficient to extirpate all the motives for exertion in the common run of ambitious men. Even a man, whose love of fame is purified from mere selfishness, may be forgiven, if he hesitates a little before he will devote the whole faculties of his mind to astonish an audience, who are bound by honour or by covenant not to be convinced, though Demosthenes should rise from the dead; and to whom is left merely the half-animal capacity of receiving pleasure from the sound of well harmonized periods. It asks a mind of no common

firmness, of no common benevolence, to persevere in haranguing an impenetrable assembly from the almost baseless hope that some better spirit may disenthral itself from its ignoble bondage, and dare to act solely at the direction of virtue and intelligence.' pp. 7, 8.

This does not quite account for the phenomenon. Eloquence would be a very dangerous faculty, if it were always available for carrying the disputed point, and its possessor would require a portion of infallibility, to deserve always to come off victor. A majority of votes is, as our Author admits, not the only criterion of the successful exertion of talent. A virtuous patriot would find his sufficient reward in those 'slow and regulated benefits' which would be sure to result from his perseverance in assailing a corrupt administration. He might control those whom he could not dispossess of power; he might deter from attempts which he could not frustrate. He is pleading at the tribunal of his country, in the audience of the civilized world, and surely, how unavailing soever may be his efforts to accomplish the exact amount of good he aims at, he has no feeble inducements to exert his utmost faculties on the side of truth and virtue. He may despise the plaudits of the mob; but as he will not regard the interest which the English people take in parliamentary discussions, in the light of a ridiculous or unimportant characteristic, so, he will estimate aright the immense value of the *average opinions* of the people. In fact, the ideal orator we are portraying, may more perfectly realize all that our Author ascribes with considerable justice to the exertions of Whitbread. If he cannot command a majority of votes, he may command a majority of opinions. He may 'command and guide the sense of the nation;'

'A force ten times more powerful than the House of Commons, because it always, directly or indirectly, influences the conduct of that assembly. To this the proudest minister is forced to bow; with reference to this he fabricates every measure: a piece of meditated tyranny is clipped away from this law; a patch of desirable fraud is torn from this arrangement; and corruption itself is quietly purged of the most acrid particles of its poison. Such is the power of a great moral check when directed by an able and honest man.'

How is it then, that so wide a scope presenting itself for virtuous ambition, with all that is pressing in the occasion, and all that is interesting in the subject, for the display of the highest faculties of ratiocination and eloquence, that the House of Commons does not furnish a counterpart to this ideal portrait? In the meagre list of "Contents" to the present volume, although they comprise every name of note in the House, we in vain look for a character of sufficient prominence and of sufficient consistency, unless in the distinguished and lamented person above referred to, to justify our fixing upon him the noble designation

of an exception. If in point of capability and of uprightness of intention, the distinction is due to any individual, we should incline to pass over the pretensions of more popular declaimers, to attest the justness of the encomium passed by our Author on the eloquence of Mr. Wilberforce as implying that exception. We find him strangely enough associated with Mr. W. Smith, who is characterized as having 'had the courage to touch the awful ark of the pure English Constitution, and it is his praise, and no slight praise, that he has not utterly sunk in the attempt.'

'To go from the calm good sense of Mr. W. Smith to the enthusiastic declamation of Mr. Wilberforce, may seem to some a very rapid transition: but those who have watched the conduct of these gentlemen must, I think, see that their object is the same, and that therefore they ought to be associated. He whose wish is to emancipate opinion from penalty, will rejoice to have for his companion the man who has, though late indeed, so eloquently pleaded the Catholic Cause, and who for years stood forth the irrepressible Champion of the Rights of the Negro. Indeed, when I consider the ardent and persevering struggle which Mr. Wilberforce so long maintained against the united strength of power and prejudice, and contemplate his final success in that noble work, I feel it to be a humiliation to descend to scan petty defects, and the mere errors of our common humanity. Who that looks upon an abundant harvest, ripened by the rays of a summer sun, will sit down to calculate how often that sun has been overclouded? Or, to come more to men and things, who would estimate Locke by his prolixity, or Shakespeare by his puns? Yet such is the rage for analyzing faults;—the common mind is so much more fitted to seize a flaw than to comprehend an excellence, that a writer would be thought most blind and partial who would suffer even a saint to pass by unreprehended. What then can be alleged against Mr. Wilberforce? Want of decision, arising, some think from timidity, others say from want of high mindedness, seems to be his principal foible. Often will he support a position in a strain of eloquence to which the House is but little accustomed, and end (Oh lame conclusion!) in persuading almost every mind but his own. He has at length however broke the chain of his scruples, and last Session, with a warmth of language and manner quite his own, unequivocally recommended the abolition of penal statutes in matters of religion. The speeches indeed of Mr. Wilberforce are among the very few good things now remaining in the British Parliament: his diction is elegant, rich, and spirited; his tones (excuse some party-whine) are so distinct and so melodious, that the most hostile ear hangs on them delighted. Then his address is so insinuating that, if he talked nonsense, you would feel yourself obliged to hear him. I recollect that last Session, when the House had been tired night after night with discussing the endless questions relating to Indian policy, when the commerce and finances and resources of our Oriental Empire had exhausted

the lungs of all the speakers, and the patience of all the auditors—at that period Mr. Wilberforce, with a just confidence in his powers, ventured to broach the hacknied subject of Hindoo conversion. He spoke three hours, but nobody seemed fatigued: all indeed were pleased, some with the ingenious artifices of his manner, but most with the glowing language of his heart. Much as I differed from him in opinion, it was impossible not to be delighted with his eloquence: and though I wish most heartily that the Hindoos might be left to their own Trinity, yet I felt disposed to agree with him, that some good must arise to the human mind by being engaged in a controversy which will exercise most of its faculties. Mr. Wilberforce is now verging towards age, and speaks but seldom: he, however, never speaks without exciting a wish that he would say more: he maintains like Mr. Grattan, though not with quite the same consistency, a considerable respectability of character by disdaining to mix in the daily paltry squabbles of party: he is no hunter after place, though he is a little too much haunted with a passion for which he may quote the authority of St. Paul, of pleasing all men and of being all to all. I was sorry when, no longer able to retain the dignity of representing the greatest County in the Kingdom, he condescended to sit as Member for a petty Borough. But something must be forgiven to an old man whose habits are formed. Parliament has been to him the scene of all his active exertions, of his pleasures and his glory. We can pardon the old dramatist who goes every night to take his unviolated seat in the pit: we sympathize with the old soldier who would hobble a whole day's march to see a review: and shall less indulgence be given to the man who shows a rather extravagant fondness to cling to the place ennobled by the memory of great men, now no more, and endeared by the recollections of his own triumphs? I confess I always look with equal respect and pleasure on this eloquent veteran, lingering among his bustling but far inferior posterity; and well has he a right to linger on the spot where he achieved one of the greenest laurels that ever brightened in the wreath of fame: a laurel better than that of the hero, as it is not stained with blood or tears: better even than that of the statesman who improves the civilization of his country, inasmuch as to create is more glorious than to improve. And the man whose labours abolished the Slave-trade, at one blow struck away the barbarism of a hundred nations, and elevated myriads of human beings, degraded to the brute, into all the dignified capacities of civilized man. To have done this is the most noble, as it is the most useful work which any individual could accomplish: and in the contemplation of this great achievement, Mr. Wilberforce and his friends may find full consolation for all the minor weaknesses and failings of his character.' pp.70—74.

A country that has given birth to a Milton, a Newton, and a Locke, might surely be supposed to contain materials from which there might have been framed a Demosthenes? Whence arises, then, the alleged inferiority of modern eloquence? We

think it is in part accounted for, by the circumstance on which we remarked in a former article, that the state of society at an advanced period of civilization, renders men less passive subjects of the impressions made by poetry and eloquence, and multiplies at once the requisites and the difficulties of the Orator: What our Author assigns as the characteristic difference of the English and of the Irish nations,—that the latter ‘feel till they think, while their neighbour nation thinks till it feels’,—will illustrate still more forcibly the difference between ancient and modern society. In proportion as wealth and knowledge become more generally diffused, and the interests of all classes of the community become interwoven with each other, the stronger feelings are less easily excited, and calculation supersedes the operation of impulse. Were Demosthenes himself to arise from the dust, indued with the power of breathing into the English language all the sonorous majesty and vehement expression of his native Greek, he would find himself in far other circumstances than those in which he assailed the power of Philip; and he would have in his audience, far less pliant and impressible materials to work upon. When the pride of the understanding must first be beguiled, before access can be obtained to the feelings,—when an audience must be charmed into the fatigue of sustained thought, and the attention be held captive till thought generates feeling, the task of the orator becomes indefinitely more arduous. He must condescend to be greatly indebted to superior knowledge, and to the power of imparting with lucid clearness his own perceptions, for the effect of his eloquence. The range of his acquisitions must be proportionally extended. The learning of a Cicero would be inadequate without some acquaintance with legal and financial details, and all the complicated subjects of political economy. The habits favourable to these acquisitions would by no means form part of the training of the orator for the public application of them. We have specimens of written eloquence that may bear comparison with the noblest relics of antiquity; but they differ from forensic oratory, or they would obviously be inferior to it. With all these acquisitions a man may still fall short of attaining eloquence, which though comprehending in itself so high and so numerous attainments, is not necessarily the result of the sum of all. He must have the power of utterance; he must have invulnerable self-possession; and yet, though seemingly opposed to this, he must have *enthusiasm*, for unless he at least appear to speak from the vehemence of feeling, the glow of honest enthusiasm, his most elegant orations will be unimpressive. This enthusiasm can be justified only by sufficient occasion: and in fact it is occasion which both excites and develops the powers of genuine eloquence. Orators, like

generals, must be formed in the field: they attain greatness only under the influence of that necessity which stimulates the faculties to their highest pitch of exertion. Unfortunately, the House of Commons is too well calculated to awaken common and degrading associations in connexion with all that is elevated or affecting in occasion, and to lower down the noblest enthusiasm to apathy. Lastly, to retain ascendancy over the minds of an enlightened audience, to give reiterated impressions the effect of permanency, to make the thoughts no less than the feelings obey the force of sympathy, and to impart to the art of suasion the power of authority;—this one more essential is wanting,—the eloquence of *character*. We do not mean to say that eloquence is never adapted to succeed irrespectively of character: there have been instances in which by dint of mere intellectual energy, a strong and biassing impression has been made on the feelings of an audience. Sincerity and consistency with regard to the particular subjects of debate, will sometimes stand instead of the influence of general character. But as to the greater part of those topics which come within the range of animated discussion, there is no doubt that within the House of Commons, but especially out of the House, a reliance on the integrity, a confidence in the motives and designs of the speaker, are indispensably requisite to ensure the success of the most brilliant eloquence. How many circumstances, then, conspire to prevent the rise of a modern Demosthenes! In vain on either bench of party, among the plausible advocates for predetermined measures, or the hostile assailants of all proposed measures, shall we expect to see a truly great orator arise. The littleness of party forbids it, and the circumscribed views of those who are merely political men are equally fatal to the expansion of the faculties to the height of moral grandeur. What might not an individual achieve who should realize in his own person the splendid combination of the fearless independence, the unwearied energy, and the commanding plain sense of Whitbread, with all that is conciliatory of deference and veneration in the character of Wilberforce. Let us imagine for a moment such an individual persevering in a course of un-deviating consistency and inviolate virtue,—attached to no party, the firm assertor of principles to which his own life should exhibit a practical subjection, the inflexible assailant of corruptions of which his own character would furnish the strongest ground for confidence that himself was incapable;—the people of England would have in such a man a champion of their rights and liberties which should still make the most corrupt or daring intriguer tremble.

We think the present publication is on the whole likely to do good. It will tend to promote a more discriminating ap-

preciation of public men and to moderate the bigotry of party estimates. The Author writes like a man accustomed to think soundly and to speak freely. There prevails, we must confess, a tone somewhat too dogmatic—an assumption of superiority which too nearly borders upon flippancy; and the language, though for the most part forcible and idiomatic, is not free from that affectation of careless originality which marks the writings of Mr. Leigh Hunt. The portraits are however drawn in a style far above the level of ordinary newspaper criticism; and without venturing to pronounce upon their uniform fidelity, we should imagine that in no instance is the Author chargeable with palpable injustice. He gives Lord Castlereagh credit for sincerity in most of his opinions, and for being 'more free from uncandid evasions than most of the political aspirants of the day.' Mr. Canning is less respectfully characterized as 'a gentleman whom Fortune, in a joke, has pushed above his natural elevation, to be pointed at as the quintessence of wit and statesmanship,' but who 'would altogether have made an excellent first master of Eton.' Mr. Grattan is classed, though not as an equal compeer, with Burke and Sheridan—poor Sheridan! whose moral character contrasted with his superlative genius, furnishes another striking illustration of the truth, that 'with the talents of an angel, a man may be a fool.' There is, we must however remark, offensive personality in the attack upon Mr. Croker. Mr. Tierney's political conduct is satirized with much more justness of severity. A very high panegyric is passed on Sir William Scott, as well as on Sir Samuel Romilly. The Author speaks also in terms of warm applause of Lord Morpeth, as possessing equal claims with Lord Milton, to our regard on the score of virtue, and being very superior in point of talent,—in fact as being obscured only by his own diffidence. The Author loses no opportunity of testifying his dislike to the 'Whig-phalanx.' His lordship is accordingly characterized 'as the least haughty and repulsive of that very disagreeable body of men'. In another place he wishes to distinguish the principles of Whiggism from its professors; a distinction most just and salutary, could it be impressed on the public mind, which is always too prone to judge of the principles exclusively by the men. Speaking of Mr. Fox, he exclaims,

'Let not this illustrious name be confounded with those dull and pompous Aristocrats, who, assuming a popular title for private purposes, despise equally popular feelings and popular sentiments; who bolstered up with heaps of wealth, and stiffened into one compact mass by family alliance, with cold selfishness turn their backs at once on the Monarch and the nation, and never think or speak of the people, except perhaps once a Session to point a sentence, or build a

climax. Are such men constitutional advocates of a people's rights? are they even a healthy part of the body politic of England? No! they are indolent and indurated tumours, equally dangerous by their stay or their removal, but which it is the interest both of the King and People to soften or disperse as much as possible by their united skill and energy. They are the powerful obstacle in the way of all reform, yet dare to retain a name which throws shame and inconsistency on all their actions and all their sentiments. Let me except one eminent character "who bears no token of these sable streams," though sometimes ingulfed in their general vortex. For Lord Holland it is impossible not to feel the deepest respect: his open disposition and honest feelings remind one every moment of his great relative; while his fine good sense, enlarged and liberalized into philosophy, shows that if his talents are not so prodigious as those of his uncle, they are at least of the same sterling nature.' pp. 25, 26.

Mr. Horner is highly and yet perhaps inadequately appreciated; but the Author puts forth all his strength on the character which is reserved for the concluding portrait, Mr. Whitbread. Since the Author's sketch was written, that truly independent and faithful representative of the people, has fallen a victim to his own overwrought energies; and his encomium has been most emphatically pronounced by fellow senators, to whom in his parliamentary career, he was a sincere and formidable opponent. The loss which the nation has suffered in his death, we do not pretend to estimate.

Art. IV. *The French Preacher*; or Sermons translated from the most eminent French Divines, Catholic and Protestant; with Biographical Notices of the Authors, and a concise Account of other distinguished Orators of the French Pulpit. To which is prefixed, an Historical View of the Reformed Church of France, from its Origin to the Present Time. By Ingram Cobbin. 8vo. pp. l. 562. Price 14s. Black, 1816.

WITHIN the last five and twenty years, the French language, from a mere superficial accomplishment, has in this country become a real and a favourite study; and among those who have thus explored its treasures, a very large proportion have made themselves familiar with what is commonly, though somewhat affectedly, termed the Eloquence of the French Pulpit. Repeated attempts have been made to naturalize among us the sermons of the French Divines; but they have, in general, been decided failures, and it is no compliment to Mr. Cobbin to say, that with the exception of Robinson's Saurin, his is by far the best; for in truth we are not acquainted with any other to which even the faint and languid praise of respectable execution can be justly awarded. Though we may have occasion to differ from Mr. C. in some points, and in others to indicate such corrections as his work may appear to us to

need, we shall not hesitate to express our opinion that he has produced an interesting volume.

The very nature of his undertaking presented to Mr. Cobbin an obstacle, which, since it seems to us nearly insurmountable, it cannot be injurious to him to say that he has not in our opinion surmounted. In order to give an adequate representation of the powers and peculiarities of the masters of pulpit-oratory in France, it is necessary to make their style and manner the subjects of close and continued investigation, and to confine the attention to one or two instead of diverting it to a considerable number. Mr. C.'s plan was different, and indeed considering the universal diffusion of the French language, it was scarcely worth his while to restrict himself; but hence has arisen an unavoidable defect in the sameness of style which pervades the compositions of men originally as different in their modes of expression, as in their names.

A question of some importance might in this place be advantageously discussed, but it would tempt us beyond our limits, and we must content ourselves with barely stating it. Are the Pulpit divines of France proper models for English preachers? We feel no hesitation whatever in giving this question our decided negative; they are too artificial, and artifice in the pulpit is a cardinal vice; even their richest beauties are, excepting in the instance of perhaps not more than one individual, of so rhetorical a nature, as to make them dangerous though captivating models. Our best English divines are safer and higher objects of imitation; their cast of thought is more sound; their eloquence is equally impressive, and at the same time more simple, vigorous, and true. But we shall pass at once to Mr. C.'s Introduction, and his brief commentary on the preachers of France.

Mr. Cobbin's Introduction is interesting, and his observations are generally just; but we must take leave to differ from him when he joins in the opinion which ascribes to Bourdaloue 'the glory of reforming the French Pulpit.' It has happened in this case, as in most other cases, that the praise which really belongs to men of an inferior class, has been unjustly assigned to the man who, though by no means the first to reform the pulpit, yet unquestionably went far beyond the first reformers. The earlier and ruder of the French Preachers, mingled in their strange harangues the most incongruous images and expressions; they were frequently indecent, and always on the hunt after a jest; but in the midst of their coarseness and vulgarity, we may sometimes find passages of great brilliancy and power. Menot, Barlet, Meyssier, Raulin, Mailliard, Ferrier, Clerée, with others of the same cast, were the favourites of the people: their eloquence was rustic, too often unintelligible and absurd; but at the same time it was suited to their hearers, and at least on

them it produced a strong impression. It would be easy to select from a great number of extracts now lying before us, specimens of the grossest buffoonery, and the most incredible absurdity; but we prefer laying before our French readers, a passage from a funeral oration, delivered in 1615, at the obsequies of the celebrated Crillon, by the Jesuit Bening. The composition is of a most whimsical kind, a mixture of seriousness and burlesque; but there are in it passages of great beauty and vigour.

‘ Il ne pouvoit se tenir sous le toit d’une maison, à l’abri d’une fente, sous l’ombre d’une courtine; aux champs, à la campagne, au jour, à l’erte, au soleil, au hâle, au serein; mon Crillon, le pied toujours en l’air, ou sur l’étrier, la tête sous le ciel qui étoit son pavillon et son dais. La volupté ne l’a jamais collé à la terre, les délices ne l’ont jamais colleté. Cet Annibal ne s’est point arrêté à Capoue; ce Samson n’a point perdu sa force au giron de Dalila; cet Achille ne changea jamais le pourpoint en une veste féminine, cet Hercule ne quitta jamais son épée pour prendre une quenouille. Telle étoit la hauteuse de son cœur, qu’il étoit supérieur à toutes les difficultés & encombres qui l’accueilloient.

‘ A quoi en venons nous, Messieurs? Pour Dieu eveillons nous, et pensons à ceci; Crillon est mort, & il nous faut mourir. Il n’y a homme si haut monté, que la mort ne desarçonne; si haut perché, qu’elle ne culbute en bas; si bien armé à blanc et à cou, qu’elle ne perce; si bien retranché et barricadé, qu’elle ne renverse. La mort est cette Até d’Homère, qui se promene et danse sur la tête des hommes; la mort est le glaive de Damocles, qui, lorsque nous banquettons et passons nos jours en plaisirs et en quelque joyeux deduit, nous pend sur la tête.’

To this race succeeded a class of men inferior in genius and vigour, and of colder feelings, but of far purer taste. The representatives of this class are Senault and De Lingendes. With the former we have no acquaintance, but we possess the Latin sermons of the latter, who was always accustomed to write them in that language though he delivered them in French. Two octavo volumes in the modern garb also lie before us, but they are nothing more than indifferent translations of some of the Latin originals. Senault is, we believe, in higher estimation than De Lingendes, but his works, though sufficiently common, have not fallen in our way. We shall now in illustration of our preceding observations, insert an untranslated extract from the original Latin of the last named divine; it forms part of the exordium of his second sermon on the Transfiguration.

“ Sentio Christiani animus intus mihi tenerescere, & quodammodo rapi, occursu prodigiorum quæ hodie intueor. In-
 “ tima quadam lætitia me abripit, corque meum, sancta quadam
 “ oblectatione affectum conticescere non potest. Videtur mihi

" cælum amplius quam pro more illuminatum, ac nescio an vel
 " Sol in terras descenderit, vel hodiernus dies pepererit geminos
 " Soles: *Thabor & Hermon in nomine tuo exultabunt.*
 " Delectatio ita universalis est ut ipsi etiam montes similes
 " sunt agniculis qui exultant et saltitant in campo. Hermon
 " quidem in Christi Baptismo, in illa Patris voce, *Hic est*
 " *filius meus dilectus*, quæ primùm audiri cœpit. Nunc autem
 " exultat et lætitia perfunditur Thabor, divinus & sanctus ille
 " mons, non minus gloria, ac splendoris natione, quem ingenti
 " altitudine sublimis: de gratia enim cum cælo certat: Thabor
 " quippe, ut ait St. Hieron. in Oseam; idem est quod lumen
 " veniens. At enim nonne mutatus est omnino in Paradisum?
 " Ejus claritas superat cœli claritatem; illius incolæ, non mi-
 " nores sunt; gloria est major; si statuatur in illo Taber-
 " nacula quæ S. Petrus optabat, terra plusquam valebit quam
 " cælum; illic Filius Dei accipit testimonium suæ divinitatis;
 " Ejus corpus experimentum facit vestitus gloriæ; Moyses recipit
 " effectum postulationis suæ; Elias zeli sui premium; Petrus
 " fidei; Jacobus animatur ad moriendum ante ceteros omnes
 " Apostolos pro confessione divinitatis Magistri sui, cujus red-
 " ditur testis; Joannes videt ac audit, quod aliquando tonabit
 " potius quam prædicabit cum admiratione universarum."

We have not made any particular selection of this passage, and whatever be its defects, it may serve to shew that a revolution had taken place in the public mind, and that a new style of preaching had been introduced before the rise of Bourdaloue. Indeed, we are disposed to think that the merit of this last mentioned and celebrated man, has been somewhat overrated. It is admitted even by his most decided partisans, that he is deficient in *unction*. To us he seems exceedingly dry; and his reasoning powers do not appear to deserve half of what has been said in their praise. But we are anticipating, and must return to our Author's introduction.

Mr. C. furnishes us with several extracts from the sermons of le Jeune, in illustration of the poverty and absurdity of the style of preaching which was popular in the earlier times; but though the passages quoted are sufficiently ridiculous, he should have added, that in other parts of his discourses, le Jeune shews himself capable of better things, and that he is by no means to be confounded with the *Andrés* and *Honorés* of the day. Mr. C. proceeds to make some general and judicious observations on the great orators of the French Pulpit. We wish, however, that he had not called Massillon 'energetic.' If the word be used in its original, but very unusual sense, we admit that he is, to a certain extent, correct in its application; but if he apply it in its common and conventional meaning, it appears to us unhappily chosen. Massillon is

decidedly deficient in what is usually understood by energy; he is too much incumbered by his richness, and his redundancy impedes the freeness of his movements. We should call Junius energetic; but what can be more at variance than the style of Junius and that of Massillon? Voltaire is quoted by Mr. Cobbin in explanation of what is usually termed the *style réfugié*.

‘The defects of the language of the Calvinistical Pastors,’ he remarks, ‘originated in their copying the incorrect phrases of the first Reformers. Moreover, almost every one of them having been brought up at Saumur, in Poitou, Dauphiné, or Languedoc, they retained the vicious modes of speaking peculiar to each province.’

It might have been added to this, that there is about many of those who were expatriated, a sort of constraint and stiffness, an air of translation, which strongly reminds us of a man speaking in a tongue not strictly vernacular. Saurin, for instance, is little, if at all, liable to the objections here made by Voltaire against the style of the Protestant divines. He had resided in France but for a short time; he had frequented the best company, he was no doubt conversant with the purest writers of French literature, and yet any one may discern a considerable difference to his disadvantage between his style and that of Massillon. How is this to be accounted for? Not certainly upon the grounds assigned by Voltaire; for in his sense, Saurin could scarcely be deemed provincial. But as it appears to us, from the fact that he had not in his exile the proper opportunities of cultivating by perpetual practice, the true, ready, idiomatic, easy, conversation style which is best suited to every species of eloquence.

In a note to a subsequent page, we have a just and pointed reprehension of the contemptible misrepresentations in Lempriere's *Universal Biography*. The character of Romaine is very powerfully vindicated, and very beautifully touched by Mr. Cobbin; indeed, he excels in this species of writing, and though it has not much to do either with his introduction, or with our review of it, we cannot help quoting from another note his description of the late Rev. Samuel Lavington, of Bldeford.

‘(He) always read his sermons, yet no preacher was ever more useful, nor did ever any preacher more powerfully fix the attention of his auditory. This was the more singular, as he cultivated none of the alluring charms of oratory. He had a fine figure, but it always remained immoveable; a commanding countenance, but he never gave it expression; a deep voice, but he never varied its tones. The composition of his sermons was perfectly simple, the matter contained neither profound ratiocination, nor the soaring

flights of fancy. In short, he had not any of the adventitious aids of the orator, and yet no orator ever excelled him in the effect of his discourses; nor was that effect produced by a false humility, a feigned affection, or the audacities of Antinomianism; he always supported the authority of a teacher, observed the strictest propriety in the choice of epithets, and generally dwelt on practical or experimental theology. The secret of his success may perhaps be attributed under the divine blessing, to the originality of his thoughts, to the simplicity of his illustrations, to the solemnity of his manner, and to the holiness of his life. He had always something new; his hearers always understood him, he always preached "as a dying man to dying men," and his life was known every where to shed a lustre upon his ministry. He was uniformly the same man. "He feared God alway." Many of the happiest days of his life as a minister, have been spent by the translator under Lavington's hospitable roof, and he had numerous opportunities of observing this inestimable preacher. It was in the closet that he became great for the pulpit. Frequently have his aged limbs shuffled along by the writer's chamber at break of day, from his own chamber to his study, and then for several hours before breakfast he communed with his God, and prepared those discourses which then delighted his young friend and the people, and of which many have since delighted the world.

We cannot resist the inclination that we feel to give further currency to the following strictures, part of a just comment on the corrupted taste of the present day.

'While introducing these observations on modes of preaching,' says Mr. Cobbin, 'the translator embraces the opportunity to bear testimony against that pernicious taste which too much prevails in the present day, and which threatens to banish all real eloquence from the English pulpit. A disgusting familiarity or noisy declamation, begins universally to prevail; and where both of these exist, or either of them, a congregation is sure to be gathered. In some solitary instances, real eloquence and sound sense are appreciated; and a few discerning hearers will listen to nothing but the truth preached in its natural simplicity, but the thoughtless crowd are to be attracted only by eccentricity, chit chat, colloquial freedoms, bombast, or sermons seasoned with a few favorite doctrines.'

Mr. Cobbin lies under a mistake when he mentions, in his Preface, the scarceness of the works of French divines, and the difficulty of procuring them. The scarceness is not quite so great as he represents it, if we may trust our own experience, and the difficulty of procuring them is exceedingly exaggerated. There are of course difficulties and uncertainties connected with importation, but these are not greater in the instance of books, than in the case of other articles. Mr. Cobbin should have considered, that these statements tend to confirm and enhance the evil of which he complains. Besides, he is incorrect in some of his information; the works of Bossuet, Massillon, and Poulle, (erroneously called here *La Poulle*,) are

quite as common as those of Bourdaloue. Poulle has we understand been republished within a few years; Massillon has also been reprinted by Renouard, a very handsome edition in 8vo. 1810; and Bossuet is we believe in course of republication. We would however recommend theological students to content themselves with his Sermons in 17 vols. 12mo. or with a selection from them in one volume, as Mr. Cobbin states, but as we think in three volumes; for either we are wrong in our recollection, or speak of a different work.

From the works at large of this writer, there is a very excellent and comprehensive selection by the Abbé Sauvigny, in 10 vols. 8vo. which will give the inquirer a very adequate notion of Bossuet's powers and peculiarities as a controvertist. That those powers were of the very highest order, no man of common judgement will venture to question; but that they are completely debased and neutralized by those peculiarities, no impartial examiner will feel disposed to deny.* When writing against the Protestants, his principal argument is drawn from their 'variations,' and his collateral reasonings form such a mass of intangible and perplexing subtleties, as set an antagonist at defiance. Nothing, in fact, can be more decisive of the superiority of their cause, than the general character of the Protestant writers of that day. They put aside all minor considerations, discard all puny and paltering dialectics, reject every thing in the shape of sophistry, and take their stand on the plain sense of Scripture, on the fair exercise of reason, and on the civil and religious liberties of mankind. Let any one take up Bossuet's refutation of Paul Ferry, and compare it with Claude's master-piece, the "*Réponse à Nouet*;" or let him read after it the rich and racy "*Bouclier de la Foy*" of old Pierre du Moulin, and he will be able to form a pretty accurate opinion as to the side on which sound reasoning and plain dealing lie. Bossuet has been very hardly dealt with in this country; none of his works have made their appearance in decent English.

It is a very remarkable circumstance, that the two great ornaments of the French Pulpit should have found in this country the very worst of Translators. Dickson has translated Massillon in a style of ignorant vulgarity; and Jerningham (strangely complimented by Mr. Cobbin as 'a respectable translator') has dressed up Bossuet in a garb which bears about as much resemblance to the original, as a harlequin's jacket does to the Roman toga. Mr. Cobbin will do well not to quote Kett again as an authority in matters of criticism; his own opinion is entitled to respect, but it derives no addition of critical weight from being coupled, on the subject of Bossuet, with

that of the author of the superficial "Elements of general Knowledge."

Before we dismiss this part of Mr. C.'s work, we would mention an additional circumstance in the life of Bossuet, which is very little known. The Lady mentioned in the biography of Bossuet, (page 140), as having been contracted to him, is stated to have been actually his wife; and it has been said that he was in the secret possession of a dispensation from the Pope. A literary character of some celebrity, St. Hyacinthe, has been supposed to be the son of Bossuet. Since writing this sentence, we have been able to recollect our authority for a part of this statement.—'At this part of the English history, Mr. Carte introduces an anecdote so extraordinary that it merits admission, although it belongs to a later age. Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, had, he says, a dispensation from the Pope to marry. This was produced and verified before the Parliament of Paris, who, as the *rapporteur* of the cause told Mr. Carte, adjudged the Bishop's estate to his wife and children, and allowed them to be legitimate.*

The 'Historical view of the Reformed Church of France,' is an interesting and comprehensive sketch; but we confess that it seems to us out of its place. It would, we think, be much better to publish it with enlargements and elucidations, as a separate work.† We have no space for an adequate abridgement, and must pass it by with a reference to a very singular specimen of mistranslation. When the death of the too celebrated Cardinal Richelieu was announced to Louis XIII, the latter, who probably rejoiced in his emancipation from the control of his tyrannical minister, coldly rejoined, "*Voilà un grand politique mort*;" and this is strangely rendered by Mr. Cobbin, "*It is a great political death!*" Even had Mr. C. been ignorant of the difference between *mort politique* and *politique mort*, he might surely have been aware that *mort* being feminine, would require the feminine termination in the adjectives. At page 102, we find 'the *treatment* of the Pastors:' we take it for granted that the original word is *traitement*, which means *salary*.

It will not be expected from us that we should go through the whole of the various matter of which the body of the volume is made up. Fifteen sermons are given from as many different authors; and to each is prefixed a short critical biography. We shall enumerate the subjects and the preachers. CATHOLIC DIVINES—Bossuet, on Providence; Flechier, on Christmas

* Andrews's Continuation of Henry's History of Great Britain. Vol. I. Page 377. Note.

† This suggestion Mr. C. has we find so far anticipated, that he has since published the Historical View by itself in a 5s. volume,

Day; Bourdaloue, on the Passion of Jesus Christ; Massillon the day of Pentecost; Cheminai, the difficulty of Salvation; Poulle, the Prodigal Son; Beauvais, the vanity of human things; Rue, (*la Rue*) the Dying Sinner; Fenelon, Plan of a Sermon. PROTESTANT DIVINES—Abbadie, the Sacrifice of Abraham; Mouchou, God manifested by Jesus Christ; Huet, the Divinity of Jesus Christ; Faucheur, the wages of Sin and the reward of Grace; Dumont, the Believer pressing forward; Guillebert, the sufficiency of grace; Claude, the sealing of the Spirit. 'A concise account of French Preachers' is subjoined; which might be enlarged by the addition of several names far superior in merit to many here set down.

With respect to the selection of sermons made by Mr. Cobbin, we believe it to be judicious; in one or two instances, we could have wished for the substitution of favourites of our own; but this is mentioned merely as matter of private preference, and not with any intention of detracting from the propriety of Mr. C.'s decision. In the two or three extracts that we shall make for the purpose of giving a fair sample of the execution of the work, we shall prefer the sermons of preachers who are less generally known.

Timoleon Cheminai was a man of great powers and popularity; he entered very early upon his public labours, and died exhausted at the premature age of thirty-nine. His published sermons display, with some deductions, considerable excellence. They are eloquent, but somewhat superficial; and while we sometimes meet with passages of genuine force and feeling, we find, in other parts, specimens of the most insipid wordiness. If we were called upon to produce an example of perfect *barbarage*, we do not know where we could more effectually seek for it than in the opening of his third division of a sermon *Sur la Fête de Pâques*; in which he tries to work up a kind of dramatic scene, with a jingling Latin chorus at the end of every pause. The preface to the fourth volume of his sermons, contains a proposal to abolish the system of divisions and subdivisions, and to preach, as it should seem, without arrangement. This scheme, or rather *anti-scheme*, seems to us neither original nor advisable; and by its adoption, either entirely or in part, some of Cheminai's sermons are not a little injured. From the discourses of this divine, Mr. Cobbin has translated one on "The difficulty of Salvation," from Matthew vii. 14. We quote the commencement of the Third Part.

'You will be yet more convinced, Sirs, of the truth that I preach to you, if you consider the exalted perfection of the law of Jesus Christ, joined with the extreme weakness of man in the state of corrupt nature. For truly the religion that we profess, says St. Augustin, is not a sluggish and inactive religion.'

‘It demands from us a love of God, which includes a preference so absolute, that neither relations, nor friends, nor health, nor honour, can snatch it away, when solicited, I will not say to give up our religion, but even to violate the least of the commandments. A preference so universal that it influences all the habits of the life, and all the articles of the law. It requires a love of our neighbour so generous, that it forgets the most atrocious injuries, that it pardons them, not only outwardly in not executing vengeance, but inwardly by stifling in the heart all the feelings which give birth to it. It claims a faith which makes the Christian ready to lay his head upon the scaffold; a renunciation, a denial of himself, which influences him to pluck out the eye that offends him, a chastity which not only deprives him of unlawful pleasures, but prevents him even from desiring them, from thinking upon them; an entire renunciation of the good things of this world. It wills that we should be persuaded that those are happy who suffer, who weep, who are poor, persecuted, calumniated; and that on the contrary we should consider the rich, men of pleasure, those who are honoured and blessed with worldly prosperity, as unhappy. It requires that we should rather be reduced to poverty, than do the least injury to our neighbour; and all this, Sirs, is absolutely obligatory.’

The Abbé Poulle is the most brilliant and sparkling of all the French divines; but at the same time he is very inferior to Bossuet and Massillon in the higher moods of oratory. With the former he cannot for a moment endure comparison; and that he falls far below the latter has been shewn by Laharpe in a very able critical analysis of their respective styles. Mr. Cobbin has translated his sermon on the Prodigal Son, and a better choice could not on the whole have been made, though there may be stronger painting in some of his other discourses. We extract the opening of the Second Part.

‘How wonderful are the operations of grace! This prodigal, whose wanderings and misfortunes, but a few moments ago we so deeply deplored, is now become our model and the object of our emulation. Let us study his conduct; his most trifling actions, every single word affords us so many instructions: the prodigal at length comes to himself. Till now he had only the sensation, and at most but a superficial knowledge of the evils that he endured; he suffered them impatiently, and never dreamt of looking for deliverance from them. The deepest reflections upon his present condition could alone inspire the wish and the courage to return to his father’s house. The sinner would not have wandered from God, says St. Ambrose, had he not wandered from himself. The first effect of grace is to restore him to himself, that he may afterwards be restored to God. In the height of his dissipation, he feels himself dragged away by a secret virtue into the abyss of his conscience; he descends there with terror; instantaneously grace throws a light into the midst of the darkness which covers it. Enveloped with this sudden brightness, what does he behold? Within only crimes, only monsters appear;

around, misery, chains, ruin; above is divine justice armed with wrath; beneath is hell, half opened and ready to swallow him up. At the sight of these frightful objects, courage becomes alarmed, conscience strikes, the sinner trembles. O how much he detests his sins! how much he hates himself.'

Before we pass on to the Protestant Preachers, we cannot help expressing our regret, that Mr. Cobbin should have classed the excellent but mystical Madame Guyon, with the miserable Joanna Southcott. The resemblance has no ground whatever on which it can be sustained. Nor can we conceive where Mr. C. discovered that Desfontaines was 'a poet of the first rate talents.' It is evident that he confounds two different men. The Abbé Desfontaines was indeed 'a most severe critic,' but no poet; while la Fontaine was the mildest and least critical of human beings, though a poet of the highest celebrity. There is an expression also, which reminds us of the celebrated phrase—'one John Milton.' In the biography of Claude, Mr. Cobbin speaks of 'a Dr. Arnauld.' We must be permitted to say, that it is neither liberal nor becoming to speak thus of one of the ablest and best men who ever lived; a man who was the formidable antagonist of Claude and of Mallebranche; who was, and who is usually, distinguished from his two brothers, Arnauld d'Andilli, and Henri Arnauld, bishop of Angers, both extraordinary men, by the epithet *le grand Arnauld*, and who was called by Boileau,

' *Le plus savant mortel qui jamais ait écrit.*'

Even where the Catholic orators state the doctrines of Christianity with general accuracy, they give them a false colouring; and where their eloquence is most conspicuous, it is not always sound. It is refreshing to pass from these ambitious *rhetoricians*, to the Gospel simplicity and strong sense of the Protestant *Preachers*. In the following paragraph from the admirable Claude, we find, what we scarcely ever find in the Catholics, forcible statements of doctrine, and just applications of Scripture.

'The Spirit which proceeds from communion with the Saviour, is given to us for four purposes; for the plenitude of faith, for perseverance, for sanctification, and for consolation. I say, first, for plenitude of faith; for I distinguish between faith and its plenitude, as we distinguish between life and the perfection of life; an infant lives, a sick man lives, but a person who is in the prime of life and in perfect health, does not only live, but he lives in full vigour, nature uninterruptedly performing in him all its functions and operations. In like manner, a weak and ignorant person, whom God has honoured with his calling, will be faithful; but he will neither have that extent of light, nor that eminent knowledge, nor that firm confidence, which is found in those whom St. Paul calls perfect, which

I call the plenitude of faith. Now it is the Spirit of Jesus Christ which produces this perfection in us, for Jesus is our teacher and our prophet, who inwardly instructs all believers. Secondly, he gives us his Holy Spirit to make us persevere, for he has received us under his care. *And this is the Father's will which hath sent him, that of all which he hath given him, he should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day, as he himself declares in the sixth of St. John.* In the third place, it is his Spirit that sanctifies us; and that forms in us the habits of virtue, that we may bring forth the fruits of righteousness which our vocation demands. *Abide in me and I in you,* said he to his disciples; *as the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me. I am the vine, ye are the branches; he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit; for without me ye can do nothing.* Finally, his Spirit is given unto us for the joy and peace of our souls; for it is on the communion of our Redeemer that those ineffable consolations depend in which believers rejoice. *Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid.* And because he has given us this peace, by means of his Spirit, his Spirit is called the Comforter; *I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter.* St. Paul embraces these four things in that fine passage in the first epistle to the Corinthians. *But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption; for wisdom and righteousness are what we call the plenitude of faith, and consolation to the heart is the formal annunciation of sanctification; and redemption ensures perseverance even to the last day.'*

This is a long extract, and the following from le Faucheur is much longer, but it is so admirable a piece of reasoning, that we cannot refuse it room.

'Christ then, by his merits, having acquired for us eternal life,..... it would be a great sacrilege in us to wish to attribute the invaluable acquisition either to our own merits or to those of any other creature. But it is not our intention, say the adversaries of this doctrine, in establishing our merits, to take away from Jesus Christ the glory of his: for we confess freely, that all the glory of our merits depends upon his, who gives to them all the weight and value that they possess. What do they mean by this? Is it that the merits of Christ may be mixed with ours, and that by this mixture they acquire a value which they had not in themselves? But would you mix grains of gold with grains of sand, that the mixture might make the grains of sand more valuable? No truly, for sand, mix it with whatever you please, must remain sand, of no consideration, nor value. The gold alone is valuable, and all the sand that we can add to it cannot increase its intrinsic worth. Is it then that our merits, not having a sufficient value in the sight of God to satisfy for what we owe him, the merit of our Saviour ought to be added to them, to give them the necessary value, as if we owed a thousand crowns, and having only an hundred to pay, another were to add nine hundred to com-

plete the sum? By no means; for were it so, our merits considered in themselves would have their own value before God, at least in proportion to the quantity that we had furnished on our own account, and the merits of Christ would have their value, although in a much greater degree; and notwithstanding that he would be by far the largest contributor in the work of our salvation, we should always have a right to say, that in part we were our own Saviours. He for example would have nine parts of the glory of having obtained our salvation, and we should have the tenth, and thus he would not have the whole. Or rather, do they mean to say that our merits may be perfumed with the odour of the merits of Christ, as a mass which of itself has no scent, takes the scent of the perfume with which it is mixed; or as a water which is insipid and inefficacious in its own nature, takes the tincture and the virtue of a medicinal drug that we infuse into it? I do not think that they would wish to say this. For besides that the merits of Christ are not material things which may be mixed and incorporated with our works to influence them, and to give them some inherent quality which they had not before in themselves, were his merits to render our works meritorious, they must impress upon them the infinite dignity of his person, and the immaculate holiness of all his affections, which are the things upon which his merit is properly founded. Then they neither communicate nor can communicate the one nor the other to us, or our works; for could it be so, they would make us gods, equal to our Lord Jesus Christ, and our works divine and equal to his. We cannot then say with propriety that the merits of Christ render our works meritorious. What then, in fine, do the merits of Christ produce those of believers, because Jesus Christ is the vine, and they are the branches? They cannot indeed say any thing more specious, but who does not see that this ruins their cause? For as the branches do not bring forth fruit, partly by the virtue of the vine, and partly by their own, seeing that all the sap they possess, and all the fruit they bear, proceed from their root, to which all the glory is due, neither can believers, in whole or in part, attribute to themselves the honour and praise of their good works, nor pretend to any merit on account of them, since they all proceed from Christ and not from themselves. There remains yet another manner in which we may understand what they say, namely that the merits of Christ are imputed to ours, that the justice of God might accept them as good and valuable, though they may not be so in reality. But this they cannot justify. For if our works could only become merit by the imputation of the obedience of Christ, they would not then be such in themselves, but only by a gratuitous acceptance; and if they became such only by gratuitous acceptance, how could they be real merits? You perceive then that these are only frivolous excuses and delusive words which are without sense. How much better is it to strip ourselves freely of all these proud pretensions of our own merits, to give glory to those of our gracious Saviour, and to acknowledge with the great Apostle that the torments of eternal death are indeed the wages that they merit who are the servants of sin; but that as to eternal life and blessedness, it is a pure gift of

God, which has been procured for us, acquired, and merited by our Lord Jesus Christ only.'

Among the French Preachers whose lives are inserted in the Biographical list at the end of this volume, we find the name of the Abbé Maury; and in the subjoined article we find a sentence which we are entirely at a loss to understand. 'It is supposed (says Mr. Cobbin) that if the influence of his eloquence had been employed in behalf of Louis the Sixteenth, he would have saved the monarchy.' If this be meant to imply that Maury ranked among the assailants of the monarchy, it is in exact opposition to the truth. The Abbé was among the foremost in the contest, it is true; but he distinguished himself as the persevering, zealous, and eloquent defender not only of the Altar and the Throne, but of every existing abuse. If these words are designed to convey the idea that the emigration of Maury and his absence from France during the trial of Louis, were fatal to the monarchy, they are equally inaccurate, for though the Abbé was a ready and able debater, he never possessed the confidence of the National Assembly, and never, as we believe, succeeded in turning the scale in one single debate. The fact seems to be, that Mr. Cobbin has misunderstood his authority. The first half of his article is translated from the *Bibliothèque Portative*, which uses the following language on this point.

'Si la raison revêtue de tous les avantages que lui donnoient la justice, la vérité, & le sentiment, avoit pu l'emporter sur le dechainement de toutes les passions, seul il eut sauvé la monarchie.'

Now the meaning of this is, in reality, the opposite of that assigned to it in the volume before us. The passage just quoted affirms, that if argumentative eloquence armed with the powers of justice, truth, and feeling, could have subdued the unbridled fury of the passions, the monarchy would have been saved by the Abbé Maury, who actually, but vainly, addressed the eloquence of reason to the passions of the French people. If we recollect rightly, Maury and Barnave were the only two conspicuous men of the early legislatures of Revolutionary France, who spoke *d'abondance* and without preparation; Mirabeau always prepared his harangues.

Mr. Cobbin, when mentioning the fact that Bourdaloue preached with his eyes shut, speaks of it with hesitation, as matter only of 'report.' It is so little uncertain, that his portrait represents him in the act of preaching with his eyes closed, and his hands folded in each other. The engraving to which we now refer, and the only one which we have in our possession, is prefixed to a volume of his sermons translated into Spanish.

Art. V. *The City of the Plague, and other Poems.* By John Wilson, Author of the *Isle of Palms*. 8vo. pp. 300. Price 10s. 6d. Edinburgh, Constable and Co. and Longman, London, 1816.

THERE is no question in criticism more curious than that which respects the pleasure which we derive from the description of objects in themselves by no means pleasurable. That pains and passions, from a view of which we should in reality shrink,—that the paroxysms of anger or despair, the gibberings of madness, the throttling agonies of death,—should, in description, whether by pen or by pencil, or on the stage, afford gratification to a well-regulated mind, is indeed in no inconsiderable degree paradoxical. We have, on a former occasion, stated some of the theories that have been advanced in explanation of this curious fact; and also our reasons for acquiescing in that of Hume. We shall venture just to go over this ground again, because we think that the whole matter may be put in a much less mysterious light than it is by that Author himself.

It will be readily granted, we suppose, on all hands, that, in a state of passion, not only are the feelings more impressible, but the imagination is more active. A state of passion is nothing but a state in which reason loses its predominance; a state, of course, in which the imagination is turned loose, in all its native vagrancy. And in fact we find this to be the case. When under the violent influence of any passion, we forget time and place; we call upon the absent and the dead; tell out our sorrows or our joys to the trees of the field and the stars of the sky; invoke heaven and earth as witnesses of our wrongs; conjure

‘Eternity, as men constrain a ghost,
To yield us up an answer.’

It will, likewise, we suppose, be granted us, that the exercise of the imagination, as of every other faculty whether bodily or mental, is, in itself, and in no small degree, pleasurable. We do not mean to assert any thing so absurd, as that a man suffering under violent grief, is a happy man, because he has an opportunity of exerting his imagination. But this we do assert, that in this exercise of the imagination consists his chief pleasure, in such a state, and that that pleasure must needs be very great which can, in so great a degree as we believe it does, counterbalance feelings of so opposite a nature.

To the imagination the poet applies himself,—then surest of producing the greatest delight, when he can apply himself to that faculty in the highest state of excitation. To excite it in a very high degree, we have seen that it is necessary to quicken feelings by no means pleasurable. If a poet would

raise his reader to that strange and mysterious delight, which, for instance, the widowed lover feels in indulging his imagination in all its wildness and extravagance, in weeping and beating his breast over the grave of his mistress, in conjuring up her form and addressing it in the piercing and passionate bursts of insane eloquence, in treasuring up a ringlet of her hair or any relic of her love, as all that the world contains of dear and valuable;—if the poet would do this, he must first transform his reader into a widowed lover, must make him for a time feel his sad feelings, participate in his bitter remembrances of the past, his utter hopelessness for the future. Hence, to get the true pleasure of tragedy, very considerable pains must be undergone; so great, perhaps, as sometimes to neutralize, or more than neutralize the pleasure. Dr. Johnson, we think, says, that having once read *King Lear*, he never could bring himself to read it again; and few readers surely can put *Clarissa Harlowe* down without emotions of the most painful keenness.

What is the reason that such is not oftener the case? What is the reason that, in fiction any more than in real life, we should be willing to undergo the pain for the sake of the pleasure? In the first place, the pain produced by the description, however excellent, can never, we think, equal what would be produced by the real fact. Secondly, there is always a lurking kind of consciousness that we are only playing with the mere imaginations of misery, and that we can get rid of them when we please, by laying down the book and turning our thoughts to something else. Lastly, the imagination is more excited, the poet having added all his powers to our own, in the excitation of it.

Real misery is, perhaps, never to be found unconnected with something disagreeable or disgusting. There is something of meanness, of selfishness, of vulgarity about it, which causes a mind not wholly absorbed in it, to revolt. All this is carefully lost sight of by the poet; it is necessary that his characters be such as we can sympathize with; their distresses unmixed with any thing that should violate that sympathy. Every body must feel at once that how well soever the grief of a family round a sick bed should be expressed by the painter, yet, if he should open the bed to us, and expose the effects of the disease in some putrid and running sore, we should turn from his picture in disgust, and reprobate the bad taste displayed in it.

Herein, we think, consists the chief fault of the "*City of the Plague*." Mr. W. has accumulated upon his reader all shocking, all disgusting images; images at which we sicken as much in description as in fact.

The story is simply this : A young man, with his friend, arrives in London, from a distant voyage, at the time of the plague. Frankfort, which is the young man's name, finds his mother dead. In the course of the poem he also dies ; and his mistress, a lovely young woman, whom he left among the lakes of Cumberland, and who is found, at the beginning of the drama, going about the city, to visit and comfort the infected, dies likewise of the plague. It is evident that the subject is in itself monotonous enough : but it is not this of which we are complaining ; Mr. W. has managed to diversify it with every possible image of disgust.

An impostor pretends to astrology, and the multitudes gather round him to inquire the fates of themselves and their friends. Among the rest, a woman asks whether her child will recover from the plague.

' *Astrologer.* Child ! foolish woman ! now thou hast no child,
Hast thou not been from home these two long hours,
Here listening unto that which touch'd thee not,
And left'st thou not thy little dying child,
Sitting by the fire, upon a madman's knee ?
Go home ! and ask thy husband for thy child !
The fire was burning fierce and wrathfully,
Its father knew not that the thing he held
Upon his knee had life—and when it shriek'd,
Amid the flames, he sat and look'd at it,
With fixed eyeballs, and a stony heart.' p. 25.

Another wretch thus confesses himself to Magdalen.

' Mid all the ghastly shrieking,
Black sullen dumbness, and wild-staring frenzy,
Pain madly leaping out of life, or fetter'd
By burning irons to its house of clay,
Where think you Satan drove me ? To the haunts
Of riot, lust, and reckless blasphemy.
In spite of that eternal passing-bell,
And all the ghosts that hourly flock'd in troops
Unto the satiated grave, insane
With drunken guilt, I mock'd my Saviour's name
With hideous mummery, and the holy book
In scornful fury trampled, rent, and burn'd.
Oh ! ours were dreadful orgies !—At still midnight
We sallied out, in mimic grave-clothes clad,
Aping the dead, and in some church-yard danc'd
A dance that oftentimes had a mortal close.
Then would we lay a living body out,
As it had been a corpse, and bear it slowly,
With what at distance seem'd a holy dirge,
Through silent streets and squares unto its rest.
One quaintly apparell'd like a surpliced priest
Led the procession, joining in the song ;—
A jestful song, most brutal and obscene,

Shameful to man, his Saviour, and his God.
 Or in a hearse we sat, which one did drive
 In masquerade-habiliments of death;
 And in that ghastly chariot whirl'd along,
 With oaths, and songs, and shouts, and peals of laughter,
 Till sometimes that most devilish merriment
 Chill'd our own souls with horror, and we stared
 Upon each other all at once struck dumb.' pp. 41, 42.

In one street is introduced a party of young men and prostitutes carousing in the street among the dying and the dead.

One Walsingham, the 'master of the Revels,' is represented as overcoming the memory of a beautiful and virtuous wife, the warnings of an aged priest, the reproaches of his own conscience, in the embraces of a harlot.

Shortly after, two women are introduced giving an account of their labours in watching by the dying, and laying out the dead.

'1st Woman. I cannot say that I dislike the Plague.
 Good faith! it yields rare harvest to the poor
 Who are industrious, and will sit by night
 Round beds where richer servants dare not come.
 Yet after all 'tis not the Plague that kills,
 But Fear. A shake of the head—a sapient look—
 Two or three ugly words mutter'd through the teeth—
 Will go long way to send unto his grave
 A soldier who has stood fire in his day.
 And as for women, and the common run
 Of men—for instance, mercers, lawyers' clerks,
 And others not worth mentioning, they die,
 If a sick-nurse only look upon her watch
 To know the hour o' the night? What matters it?
 In a hundred years—all will be well again.

2d Woman. You must have seen rare sights in your time, good woman!

1st Woman. I have seen for two months past some score i' the day

Give up the ghost. No easy business
 To lay so many out. When they paid well,
 I did my office neatly—but the poor
 Or niggardly, I put them overhand
 In a somewhat careless way—gave them a stretch
 Or two,—down with their eye-lids—shut their mouths,
 And so I left them. 'Twas but slovenly work.' p. 90.

The history she gives is still more shocking.

'1st Woman. I was sent for to a house that was plague-struck,
 To lay out two small children. Rivington!
 Methought I knew that name.'

* * * * *

'At once I knew the caitiff, as he lay
 Dying alone 'mid his dead family,

Whose blue-swollen faces had a look in them
Of their most wicked father.

* * * * *

‘ We were three sisters once
Happy and young, and some thought beautiful,
And by our cheerful industry supported
Our palsied mother. But this demon came,
And by his wheedling arts and tempting gold,
Unknown to one another we all fell
Into sin, and shame, and sorrow. Our sick mother
Died of a broken heart—one sister died
In childbed—and consumption bred of grief
Soon took away another. I alone,
Reserv’d for farther woe and wickedness,
Liv’d on—but yet methinks this one small day,
Those two blest hours in which I saw him dying,
That minute when the rattle in his throat
Clos’d his vile tongue for ever, and the moment
When one convulsive gasp left him a corpse,
Gave me my share of earthly happiness,
And life feels life thus sweeten’d by revenge.’ pp. 91—3.

Again :

‘ [*A wild cry is heard, and a half-naked man comes raving
furiously along.*]

‘ *Maniac.* Another month, and I am left alone
In the vast city, shrieking like a demon!
Condemned to an eternal solitude
Peopled but by ghosts, that will not will not speak
All gliding past me, wan and silently,
With curses in their eyes, and death-like frost
Breathed from their bony hands, whose scornful fingers
Keep pointing at me rooted to the stones,
That yield no sound to comfort my stopp’d heart.’ p. 96.

Again, the driver of the dead-cart.

‘ *1st Man.* The ghastly idiot-negro, charioteer !
See how he brandishes around his head
A whip that in the yellow lamp-light burns
Like a fiery serpent. How the idiot laughs!
And brightens up his sable countenance,
With his white teeth that stretch from ear to ear.
Thank God he is no Christian—only a negro.’ p. 156.

Now all this, beyond all doubt, is most strongly painted:
but what is the effect of it? Is it not altogether disagreeable?
Are the subjects such as any man alive would choose to
exercise his imagination upon—except Mr. Wilson? Besides,
all the persons,—the astrologer, the maniac, the negro, the
revellers, the prostitutes,—are all equally unknown, and un-
familiar to the reader, have no hold upon him, excite no interest

in him, are just introduced with their respective images of horror, and sent off again.

We turn however with pleasure to the beauties of the poem ; and it must be obvious to every one, that he who could produce even such passages as those above, could not write a poem of any length without beauties.

The silence and desertion of the city are strongly painted in the following lines.

' O unrejoicing Sabbath ! not of yore
Did thy sweet evenings die along the Thames
Thus silently ! Now every sail is furl'd,
The oar hath dropt from out the rower's hand,
And on thou flow'st in lifeless majesty,
River of a desert lately filled with joy !
O'er all that mighty wilderness of stone
The air is clear and cloudless as at sea
Above the gliding ship. All fires are dead,
And not one single wreath of smoke ascends
Above the stillness of the towers and spires.
How idly hangs that arch magnificent
Across the idle river ! Not a speck
Is seen to move along it. There it hangs,
Still as a rainbow in the pathless sky.' p. 6.

The astrologer, to ' a young and beautiful lady' inquiring the fate of her husband.

' Where are the gold, the diamonds and the pearls,
That erewhile, in thy days of vanity,
Did sparkle, star-like, through the hanging clouds
That shaded thy bright neck, that raven hair ?
Give them to me ; for many are the poor,
Nor shalt thou, Lady ! ever need again
This mortal being's frivolous ornaments.
Give me the gold you promis'd ; holiest alms
Add not a moment to our number'd days,
But the death of open-handed charity
Is on a bed of down. Hast thou the gold ?'

* * * * *
' Lady, thou need'st this wedding-ring no more !
Death with his lean and bony hand hath loosen'd
The bauble from thy finger, and even now
Thy husband is a corpse. O ! might I say
Thy beauty were immortal ! But a ghost,
In all the loveliness on earth it wore,
Walks through the moonlight of the cemetery,
And I know the shadow of the mortal creature
Now weeping at my side.' p. 28.

Frankfort, by the death-bed of his mother.

' O look upon her face ! eternity
Is shadow'd there ! a pure immortal calm

Whose presence makes the tumult of this world
 Pass like a fleeting breeze, and through the soul
 Breathes the still ether of a loftier climate !

' *Priest.* Many sweet faces have I seen in death,
 But never one like this. Death beautifies
 Even the stern face of guilt, and I have seen
 The troubled countenance of a sinful man
 Breath'd over, soon as life had pass'd away,
 With a soft delicate shade,—as from the wing
 Of Innocence returning to shed tears
 Over the being she had lov'd in youth.
 But here lies perfect beauty ! her meek face
 Free as that child's from any touch of sin,
 Yet shining with that loftier sanctity
 That holds communion with the promis'd heavens.' p. 101, 102.

' There is a little church-yard on the side
 Of a low hill, that hangs o'er Rydal-lake,
 Behind the house where Magdalene was born.
 Most beautiful it is ; a vernal glade
 Enclos'd with wooded rocks ! where a few graves
 Lie shelter'd, sleeping in eternal calm.
 Go thither when you will, and that green spot
 Is bright with sunshine. There they hop'd to lie !
 And there they often spoke to Magdalene
 Of their own dying day. For death put on
 The countenance of an angel in the place
 Which he had sanctified. I see the spot
 Which they had chosen for their sleep—but far,
 O far away from that sweet sanctuary
 They rest, and all its depth of sunny calm.
 Methinks my Magdalene never dare return
 To her native cottage.' p. 105.

We hope that our town-readers sometimes feel with Wilmot.

' How sweetly have I felt the evening-calm
 Come o'er the tumult of the busy day
 In a great city ! when the silent stars
 Stole out so gladsome through the dark-blue heavens,
 All undisturb'd by any restless noise
 Sent from the domes and spires that lay beneath
 Hush'd as the clouds of night.' p. 117.

One picture from the land of lakes and mountains, and we
 close our quotations.

' Sweet Rydal lake !
 Am I again to visit thee ? to hear
 Thy glad waves murmuring all around my soul ?

' *Isabel.* Methinks I see us in a cheerful groupe
 Walking along the margin of the bay
 Where our lone summer-house

' *Magd.* Sweet mossy cell?
 So cool—so shady—silent and compos'd!
 A constant evening full of gentle dreams!
 Where joy was felt like sadness, and our grief
 A melancholy pleasant to be borne.
 Hath the green linnet built her nest this spring
 In her own rose-bush near the quiet door?
 Bright solitary bird! she oft will miss
 Her human friends: Our orchard now must be
 A wilderness of sweets, by none belov'd.

' *Isabel.* One blessed week would soon restore its beauty,
 Were we at home. Nature can work no wrong.
 The very weeds how lovely! the confusion
 Doth speak of breezes, sunshine, and the dew.

' *Magd.* I hear the murmuring of a thousand bees
 In that bright odorous honeysuckle wall
 That once enclos'd the happiest family
 That ever liv'd beneath the blessed skies.
 Where is that family now? O Isabel,
 I feel my soul descending to the grave,
 And all these loveliest rural images
 Fade, like waves breaking on a dreary shore.

' *Isabel.* Even now I see a stream of sunshine bathing
 The bright moss-roses round our parlour window!
 Oh! were we sitting in that room once more!

' *Magd.* 'Twould seem inhuman to be happy there
 And both my parents dead. How could I walk
 On what I used to call my father's walk,
 He in his grave! or look upon that tree
 Each year so full of blossoms or of fruit
 Planted by my mother, and her holy name
 Graven on its stem by mine own infant hands!

' *Isabel.* It would be haunted, but most holy ground.' p. 76.

Mr. W.'s verse, is in general very sweet: there is, however, one circumstance, in regard to which his ear seems strangely defective. It was a custom of our old dramatic writers, which has been copied by those who have been called the Lake poets, to introduce superfluous short syllables into their verse;—learnedly speaking, to introduce the *anapæst* in lieu of the *iambus*. Thus Shakspeare:

' O my poor brothër! ānd sō perchance may he be.'

My heart bleeds

' To think ð' thē tēen that I have turn'd you to.'

It did remain

' ~I' thē mīdst ð' thē bōdy, idle and inactive.'

And Southey:—

' King Owen's name

' Shall live I' thē āfter-world without a blot.'

This produces a variety to our ears highly agreeable. Mr. Wilson, however, seems to us quite to mistake the matter, in introducing this foot continually in the second place, after a trochee in the first.

‘Mingling I the train of joy and happiness.’

‘Laughing mid the flowers. O many a slow-paced hearse
Waiting for the priest, then stretch’d within his shroud.’

To our ears these lines are neither more nor less than prose. Of the miscellaneous pieces in the volume we take no notice, as containing nothing very particular. They are, in general, too lengthy.

Mr. Wilson has fine powers. We wish he could find fitter subjects whereupon to exercise them, than the Isle of Palms, and the City of the Plague.

Art. VI. *The Doctrine of the Church of England upon the Efficacy of Baptism vindicated from Misrepresentation.* By Richard Laurence, LL.D. Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church, &c. 8vo. pp. 176. Price 5s. Oxford, at the University Press, for the Author, 1816.

IF in our review of the pamphlets on the present controversy respecting the efficacy of Baptism, any pretence were afforded for charging us with unfairness in our statement of the question as matter of fact, we should conceive that the present publication would completely silence every such objection, and sweep away all hypothetical explanations of the language of the Church of England on the subject. Dr. Laurence commences his vindication, with the following preliminary remarks.

‘It may perhaps appear singular, that a controversy should still exist respecting the true sense of certain passages in the Baptismal Services of our Church, after a lapse of more than two centuries from the period of their original compilation; particularly as the language in which they are expressed seems to have been studiously adapted to popular comprehension and instruction. But this appearance of singularity ceases, when we recollect the natural anxiety of every writer upon the subject to prove, that the doctrine of the Church to which he professes attachment, and his own private opinion, perfectly coincide. Yet, ought this anxiety always to be indulged? Private opinion, it is indeed true, no man can control; but every man may control the public display of it: and surely when its conformity with the doctrine of the Church cannot be clearly and satisfactorily demonstrated, concealment is preferable to disclosure, and silence to justification. To support an ideal conformity by a line of argument evidently strained and distorted, may suit the obliquities of party spirit, but can never promote truth, and produce conviction.’

Dr. Laurence deprecates ‘dragging Scripture into the contest.’ ‘The true question at issue,’ he confesses, is

‘Not *what Scripture*, but *what the Church of England*, has inculcated upon the subject. Besides, to commence with ascertaining the precise sense of Scripture upon it is to commence with a bias on the mind, which must unavoidably influence subsequent investigation. I shall not, I am persuaded, be misrepresented as entertaining the slightest doubt respecting the conformity of the doctrine of our Church with Scripture; because it is evident, that I am only contending for the propriety of first deciding what the doctrine of our Church really is, before any attempt be made either to establish or refute that doctrine by the Word of God.’

This method we adopted; and it is utterly surprising that any insidious design should be charged on so natural and direct a manner of treating the subject. We really cannot help the coincidence of our testimony in support of the *fact*, with that of men from whom we differ very widely in doctrine. Suppose that an orthodox Protestant Dissenter, and a philosophical deist, were separately to urge a similar objection to some part of the constitution of the hierarchy, would it necessarily follow, that the objection proceeding from individuals of so different characters, must be unreasonable, or that there was any collusion between the parties? As Dissenters, we feel called upon to take every proper occasion of illustrating the reasonableness of our objections to the Established Church. Among these objections, that to which the present controversy has given accidental prominence, Mr. Scott and Mr. Bugg would allow to be valid, but the basis on which it rests is disputed. Dr. Laurence on the other side establishes its truth, though he may not be disposed to concede its solidity. In any other case, the conclusion would be deemed obvious and irresistible.

Dr. Laurence considers the doctrine held by the Evangelical Clergy, upon the subject of Baptism, as founded upon Calvinistic principles, and he charges them with holding generally the tenets of Calvinism. Dr. Laurence, however, must know, that the doctrinal sentiments of that great Reformer, so far as respects the objectionable peculiarities of his system relative to Predestination, are *not held* by any modern Calvinists. The term *Calvinistic* is a very convenient weapon in controversial warfare, inasmuch as it can be made at once to assert a truth, and to convey a misrepresentation. Hence arises the difficulty of adjusting the dispute, whether the Articles of the Church of England are, or are not, Calvinistic. In the usual acceptance of the term they undoubtedly are Calvinistic, for they expressly teach the doctrines which Calvin held in common with the other Reformers, and they are we believe in no respect at variance with his opinions. But inasmuch as they maintain a guarded silence on other points of doctrine which belong to the Calvinistic system, they cannot with strict propriety be termed

by way of distinction, Calvinistic. That term, indeed, has usually been understood to imply a conformity to Calvin's authority, not merely in respect of doctrine, but also of ecclesiastical discipline. It is on this account that the name of Calvin has in this country been so unpopular with the champions of episcopacy; and nothing therefore can be more absurd, than to apply the term Calvinistic to the Evangelical Clergy, merely because they believe in the doctrine of the Articles of their own Church on the subject of Predestination. Is it not natural that they should 'prefer a general to a sectarian denomination,' when they know the offensive associations which are connected with the phrase? Is it fair, then, in a brother Episcopalian, to taunt them with borrowing their theological notions from a Presbyterian doctor? The fact is, that the Evangelical Clergy are for the most part disinclined to explore the depths of systematic theology; they are anxious to deduce their opinions from the Bible. Hence arises their unwillingness to admit of some of the doctrines of the Church of England.

Our Author goes the full length of our representation as to the importance of the present question, in its bearings on other doctrinal points: he considers it as involving the very nature and extent of Divine election. The Church of England, he conceives, teaches, 'that all baptized infants and all *duly prepared* adults are indiscriminately elected in Christ out of mankind,'—and that the Divine election is 'not an absolute but a conditional or contingent election.'

'A restoration to Divine favour, comprehending the remission of sin and adoption into the number of the elect, is, I apprehend, uniformly represented in our Liturgy, as the inseparable concomitant of Regeneration.' (*id est*, Baptism) p. 10.

An 'indiscriminate election,' a contingent choice, might seem to border too closely on contradiction, were it not obvious that the position the terms are designed to convey, is purely negative: the purpose for which they are employed, is, not to explain, but to explain away the doctrine of Scripture. Dr. Laurence would indeed find it difficult to prove that the Church of England teaches, *totidem verbis*, the doctrine of an indiscriminate and contingent election: but he is quite right if he means to assert that the Liturgy is constructed upon the supposition that 'all baptized infants and all duly prepared adults are of the number of the elect;' and that nothing short of this is necessarily implied in its language. The Church of England has only borrowed this phraseology from the Church of Rome, in which all the terms employed by the writers of the New Testament to express a spiritual change or a moral relation, are reduced to the deadness of the letter 'which killeth', or transmuted into a sense simply ecclesiastical or secular. Election is

therefore no more than that Providential appointment which determines outward circumstances;—Predestination is simply the Divine fore-knowledge, or a determination on the part of God that man shall be left to determine himself;—Regeneration is Baptism;—Conversion consists in renouncing Heathenism, or in an acknowledgement of the truth of Christianity;—and becoming a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven, is all included in a reception into the visible Church. This is the theology of Rome, the theology which Calvin combated with so much vehemence, and which finds its modern advocates in the Lecturers and Regius Professors of the University of Oxford!

Our present business; however, confines us to the doctrine of the Church on the efficacy of Baptism.

‘It is admitted, that *Regeneration* and *Baptism* were regarded as synonymous terms by the early Fathers of the Church, who considered *Regeneration* as the *effect* of *Baptism*, using what is denominated a metonymy of the *effect* for the *cause*. The same synonymous signification also is adopted in the Articles of our Church*, in which the Latin expression *renatis* is translated *baptized*.’ pp. 10, 11.

Our Author proceeds in his third chapter, to notice the complaint which has been made, that Dr. Mant nearly confines his attention to infant recipients of Baptism. He shews that the question in debate hinges upon this very point, since ‘the Church of England possessed no form whatever of adult Baptism until the Restoration,’ and to attempt therefore ‘to explain the doctrine of infant by that of adult Baptism,’ is an inverted order of argument. With regard to the former, the hypothesis of a *charitable* supposition, (which, as Dr. L. justly remarks, presumes the possibility of an *uncharitable* one,) is wholly untenable; the incompetency of the infant subject of Baptism excludes alike both suppositions. Besides, in the preparatory form of the service for adults, the person, although supposed to ‘possess repentance and faith,’

‘Is regarded as still *unregenerate*; otherwise the minister would not be instructed thus to pray; “We call upon thee for this person,

* ‘Art. ix. Dr. Mant’s opponent will not here allow this identity of expression, certainly not as any result from the context, pp. 100, 101. But had he referred to the original Latin of this Article, which he appears to have both read and considered, because he quotes it in the *very next page*, he must have acknowledged the truth of a deduction which he contemptuously opposes. In this Article the word *renatis* occurs twice, *manet etiam in renatis hæc naturæ depravatio*: again, *quanquam in renatis et credentibus nulla propter Christum est condemnatio*, &c. In the former instance it is translated *regenerated*, in the latter *baptized*. The conclusion seems obvious. Mr. Scott however, for reasons not very difficult to divine, quotes only the instance in which it is translated *regenerated*.’

“ that he coming to thy holy Baptism *may* receive remission of his sins by spiritual Regeneration;” and again, “ Give thy Holy Spirit to this person, that he *may* be born again and be made an heir of everlasting salvation.” Surely this mode of expression sufficiently demonstrates, that he who possesses repentance and faith is not therefore to be necessarily considered as possessing spiritual Regeneration. But what follows? Immediately after the administration of baptism, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, he is pronounced to be *regenerated*, to be *born again*, and to be *made an heir* of everlasting salvation. Is it possible to deduce any other legitimate conclusion from these premises than this; that the person who after a due preparation comes to Christ’s holy Baptism *unregenerated*, departs *regenerated*.

‘ When it is said *before* the act of baptism, “ Give thy Holy Spirit to this person, that he *may* be born again and be made an heir of everlasting salvation;” and again *after* the act of baptism, “ that *being now* born again, and made an heir of everlasting salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ, he may *continue* thy servant,” does not the change of tense distinctly point out a change of circumstances dependent upon the *intervening* act of baptism; indicating that the person baptized, although repenting and believing, was not previously, but is now regenerated?’ pp. 21—23.

We pass over Dr. Laurence’s inquiry, ‘ If Regeneration be ‘ already obtained,’ (that is, previously to Baptism,) ‘ in what ‘ can be supposed to consist the “ *great necessity*” of Baptism ‘ with water?’ We shall merely remark that such an argument might be made admirably to serve the purpose of the abettors of other Romish doctrines: Transubstantiation for instance, or Confirmation. In what consists the great necessity of Confirmation, unless the Holy Spirit is conveyed by the imposition of episcopal hands? Or in what, it might be asked, consists the great necessity of episcopal ordination, unless it also convey the Holy Spirit? The notions implied in these questions, originate alike in a misinterpretation of Scripture. But with regard to the Institute of Baptism itself, the case is widely different: and if we once admit that the necessity or importance of a Divine Institute is to be appreciated, not by the *authority* on which it rests, not by the expressness of the command, but by human interpretations of its design, by the *rationale* of the rite as expounded by dotting superstition; then it matters little by whom the supremacy of the Church is usurped, by Polish or by Roman heresiarch: the Scriptures are no longer the standard of our faith.

Dr. L. however imagines that the necessity of Baptism rests upon its efficacy; and that the Church ‘ inculcates upon this ‘ point no Calvinistic principles we may conclude (he says.) ‘ from the *known creed* of those who compiled the office in ‘ question’, (the office for Adult Baptism.)

* The compilers of this office were Henchman Bishop of Sarum, Lany Bishop of Peterborough, and Morley Bishop of Worcester, in conjunction with six others, not named, of the Lower House of Convocation. See Act of Convocation, A.D. 1661. in Wilkins's *Concilia Magna Britan. &c.* v. 4. p. 565. It is added: *Hæ præces pro baptizazione adultorum, ultimo die mensis Maii introductæ, unanimiter approbantur.* The Anti Calvinistical principles of this Convocation will not, I presume, be questioned. The three Bishops had also acted under the royal commission previously issued for the revision of our Liturgy; and were in their proceedings under it all opposed to the Presbyterian party. Baxter represents Bishop Morley and Bishop Henchman as the principal opponents of that party in the Savoy Conference. Baxter's *Life*, part ii. p. 363. Henchman indeed he describes as speaking "calmly and slowly, and not very oft;" but adds, "he was as *high in his principles and resolutions* as any of them." Lany he seems to have held in contempt, p. 337, and 364. But Morley he represents as the chief speaker of the Bishops, and the greatest interrupter of those who pleaded for alterations in the Liturgy, p. 363.' p. 30.

We must be very brief in following Dr. Laurence through the remaining part of his argument. The fourth chapter exhibits the doctrine of Luther on the subject of Baptism, and the language of the Augsburg Confession, from which the formulary adopted by our Church, it is asserted, was borrowed. The doctrine of Luther is referred to by Mr. Hall in his *Treatise "On the Terms of Communion."** Though distinguishable from the *opus operatum* of the Church of Rome, it bears strongly the indications of that cloudiness of theological knowledge, which attended the dawn of the Reformation. Luther held that Baptism is necessary to salvation; and that 'Faith, though an indispensable requisite, can add nothing to the efficacy of that sacrament.' The same partial emancipation from Romish error marks the Lutheran doctrine of the real presence in the Eucharist. Consubstantiation was one step towards truth from Transubstantiation.

The Latin articles extant in the Cottonian library, 'in one or two instances corrected by Henry himself,' which are referred to the year 1540 by Strype, contain language respecting adult baptism, perfectly conformable to that of Luther; and the English book of Articles published under the sanction of royal authority in 1536, 'the probable original of the Latin ones', directs all bishops and preachers to teach the people, that it is '*by virtue of that holy sacrament*' that they obtain the grace and remission of all their sins. Dr. L. subjoins the following quotation.

"And finally, if they shall also have firm credence and trust in

* See *Eclectic Review* N.S. V. iv. p. 345.

"the promise of God adjoined to the said sacrament, that is to say, that in and by this said sacrament, which they shall receive, God the Father giveth unto them, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, remission of all their sins, and the grace of the Holy Ghost, whereby they be newly regenerated and made the very children of God, according to the saying of Christ and his Apostle St. Peter, Penitentiam agite, &c."

'From the preceding quotations,' he adds, 'it is impossible to deduce any other conclusion than that for which I am contending; that Regeneration exists *in and by*, but not *before* baptism. And let it be remembered, that these are the earliest documents of our Reformation, which our Reformers at the close of it evidently had in their contemplation, and which some of them, particularly their leader Cranmer, had been instrumental in drawing up, when they established that form of doctrine in our Church, which still subsists,' p. 49, 60.

The fifth chapter continues the series of proof in reference to the sentiments of Cranmer, who was the principal author of the first book of Homilies, and of the Liturgy; and the Author endeavours to shew that the sentiments of Latimer were not different from those of Cranmer. The sixth chapter relates to the First Book of Homilies, the Paraphrase of Erasmus, the Second Book of Homilies, and the last Revision of the Liturgy under the Royal Commission at the Restoration. The following extracts from the published account of the Proceedings of the Commissioners, indisputably prove the sentiments of the High Church Party.

'Among the exceptions made to the language used in the office of Infant baptism, one was to the following expressions in the second introductory prayer, "*may receive remission of his sins by spiritual regeneration.*" The exception was thus worded; "This expression seeming inconvenient, we desire it may be changed into this, *may be regenerated, and receive remission of sins.*"

'The answer of the High Church party, who finally conducted the revision by themselves without control, was this: "*Receive remission of sins by spiritual regeneration*, most proper. For *baptism* is our *spiritual regeneration*. St. John iii. Unless a man be born again of water and the Spirit, &c. And by *this* is received *remission of sins*. Acts ii. 38. Repent and be *baptised* every one of you *for the remission of sins*. So the Creed; one *baptism* for the remission of sin." When therefore the same party came to compose the office of Adult baptism, and adopted the very phraseology in question without alteration, can we possibly doubt what precise sense it was their intention to affix to it? They could certainly have intended to affix none to it consistent with the belief, that Regeneration takes place in adults *before* baptism; because they unambiguously avowed their creed to be, that baptism itself (and not its previous requisites) constitutes our spiritual Regeneration, and that by *this*, so considered, we obtain the remission of our sins.

'Another exception taken by their opponents was to these words

in the Church Catechism: "In my baptism wherein I was made a child of God, a member of Christ, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven." It was said; "We conceive it might more safely be expressed thus: Wherein I was *visibly* admitted into the number of the members of Christ, the children of God, and the heirs (rather than the *inheritors*) of the kingdom of heaven."

The following was the answer which they gave to this exception. "We conceive this expression" (that is, this mode of expression, or the language previously and still in use) "as safe as that which *they* desire, and more fully expressing the efficacy of the sacrament, according to St. Paul, Galatians iii. 26 and 27; where St. Paul proves them all to be children of God, because *they were baptized, and in their baptism had put on Christ. If children then heirs, or, which is all one, inheritors, Rom. viii. 17.*

'So explicit a declaration, that we become the members of Christ, the children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven, *by the efficacy of the sacrament of baptism, in which we are stated to put on Christ, leaves not a shadow of suspicion respecting the sentiments of those who made it. And let it not be forgotten, that this was the very party, to which we are solely and exclusively indebted for the revision of the Liturgy, and for the compilation of the office itself, the true meaning of which is now controverted.*' p. 104—106.

Our Author proceeds in the seventh chapter, to demolish the theory of a supposed disposition in 'infants to fulfil, when capable of so doing, their baptismal engagements;' upon which the evangelical clergy attempt to reconcile their use of the Ritual. Mr. Scott represents it as analogous to a *legal fiction* in temporal transactions, and considers the soul of the child as in that sense transferred to his sponsor, and as speaking in him and by him. Dr. Laurence rejoins,

'But what are the gradations in this singular scale of suppositions ascribed to our Church? First, the professions of the sponsor are supposed to be those of the infant himself, although he is acknowledged to be at the time incapable of all professions whatsoever, as well of comprehending as of performing them. Then these professions are supposed to be made with a species of sincerity. And lastly, by way of solving the preceding *ænigma*, the infant is supposed to possess, not indeed *genuine* sincerity, but a *certain indescribable disposition*, which must hereafter *infallibly* lead him to prove by his subsequent conduct, that, if he could, he would even now be truly sincere.

'How this extravagant mode of reasoning can render the doctrine of our Church more rational and intelligible, I am wholly at a loss to conjecture. Bold indeed I admit, but certainly not very rational and intelligible, is that hypothesis, which represents her as regenerating by fiction, and as presuming impossibilities.' 113, 114.

The following chapter offers additional proof that the framers of the Liturgy designedly excluded every idea of a conditional or partial Regeneration. The ninth and tenth are occupied

principally with recapitulation. In the course of this recapitulation there occur some singular representations. 'Every infant is, in the judgement of the Church,' says Dr. L. 'considered as truly admitted into God's favour, and truly regenerated, so far at least as the infant mind is capable of Regeneration:' a modification of the doctrine, which in our view amounts pretty nearly to a negation.

'In the event of his surviving to years of discretion,' it is added, 'his continuance in a state of grace and acceptance "depends upon his continuance in well doing, upon his obediently keeping God's holy will and commandments, and walking in the same all the days of his life." This is so obvious the natural import of the language adopted in our liturgy, that no common skill in logical legerdemain seems requisite to force upon it any other construction.'

Were this all that the Liturgy asserts, there would be no inducement for any of Dr. Laurence's opponents to attempt a different construction. No Calvinist denies the necessary connexion between a continuance in well doing, and a continuance in a state of acceptance with God, although he denies that the condition upon which our enjoyment of the Divine favour is said to depend, is of the nature of a meritorious cause, and on this account would object to a phraseology, which seems to countenance the Popish doctrine of Justification by works.

The other singular statement we allude to, occurs at p. 165. The Author represents the persuasion 'that children, which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved,' to 'be inconsistent with the very basis of Calvinistical Predestination.' Whatever were the sentiments of Calvin respecting the salvation of infants, the doctrine of Predestination, it is needless to say, involves no supposition so monstrous and blasphemous as that which Dr. L. would seem to be desirous of fastening on his opponents. The fact is, the Liturgy teaches the salvation of baptized infants only, and that by virtue of baptism. Modern Calvinists believe that all infants, baptized or unbaptized, are undoubtedly saved in Christ.

We cannot take leave of Dr. Laurence without expressing the obligations under which he has laid the Dissenters, for this able confirmation of some of the grounds of their non-conformity. Were we to congratulate him on the service he has performed to the Established Church, it would wear too obviously the appearance of irony: but the investigation must do good; it can endanger no interests that are identified with the Truth. It will serve to strengthen that line of demarcation which we always wish to see conspicuous, between the ministers

of the religion of the New Testament, and the devotees to human authority in matters of faith; between the converted and the professional minister; between the preachers of the Bible, and the administrators of a liturgy. These two parties will always exist in a national church; and while there is any vitality in either, they will never amalgamate.

It is singular enough to witness Dr. Laurence's party in the Establishment, demanding a relinquishment of preconceived system from the Evangelical Clergy, and exhibiting so marked an antipathy to systematic theology, at the very moment that they are appealing to human compositions, and to human theories, as the rule of ecclesiastical faith, and deprecating an appeal to Scripture, as tending to bias the mind! Yes: it is the Church, not the Bible, that is to decide the controversy. Surely, the dangers of an over-fondness for system, are not comparable with those of a blind deference to traditional dogmas on the ground of their ideal authority. What is there in all the refinements of *hyper-Calvinistic* theories, more erroneous or more pernicious, than that mixture of Arminian phraseology and Antinomian sentiment, which the abettors of Baptismal Regeneration oppose to the doctrines of Predestination and Conversion?

We cannot agree with those persons who view the present controversy with regret or with dismay. We are rather disposed to consider it as an encouraging indication of the activity of a spirit of inquiry. 'An aversion to religious controversy,' remarks an admirable writer, 'may arise from two causes, 'in their nature the most opposite; a contempt of religion 'itself, or a high degree of devotional feeling.' It affords a proof then of the existence of some principle better than a 'Sadducean' indifference, when this aversion gives way even to a contentious zeal for truth. It argues indeed a morbid state of feeling, when the grand essentials of Christianity appear to engage less attention than those impalpable niceties of definition, and those reasonings, inductive or hypothetical, which are the mere excrescences of truth. But the present controversy is not of this description: it involves essentials, and there is something suspicious in the feelings which make us shrink from the contest. To those excellent individuals who cherish this reluctance, from a distrustful solicitude respecting consequences that may arise from agitating these questions, we beg earnestly to recommend the following remarks on religious controversy, from the pen of the Rev. Robert Hall. They are extracted from his Preface to the third edition of an inestimable work by his father, Mr. Robert Hall of Arnsby, entitled "Help to Zion's Travellers."

'It is certain that in some this indisposition proceeds from a

' better cause : they conceive religion to be a subject too sacred
 ' for dispute. They wish to confine it to silent meditation, to
 ' sweeten solitude, to inspire devotion, to guide the practice,
 ' and purify the heart, and never to appear in public but in
 ' the character of the authentic interpreter of the will of
 ' Heaven. They conceive it degraded whenever it is brought
 ' forward to combat on the arena. We are fully convinced,
 ' that a disputatious humour is unfavourable to piety ; and that
 ' controversies in religion have often been unnecessarily multiplied
 ' and extended ; but how they can be dispensed with altogether,
 ' we are at a loss to discover, until some other method is disco-
 ' vered of confuting error, than sound and solid argument. As
 ' we no longer live in times (God be thanked!) when coercion can
 ' be employed, or when any individual, or any body of men, are
 ' invested with that authority which could silence disputes by an
 ' oracular decision, there appears no possibility of maintaining the
 ' interests of truth, without having recourse to temperate and
 ' candid controversy. Perhaps the sober use of this weapon may
 ' not be without its advantages, even at the present season.
 ' Prone as we are to extremes, may there not be some reason to
 ' apprehend, we have passed from that propensity to magnify
 ' every difference subsisting amongst christians, to a neglect
 ' of just discrimination, to a habit of contemplating the christian
 ' system as one in which there is little or nothing remains to be
 ' explored ? Let us cultivate the most cordial esteem for all that
 ' love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. Let us anxiously
 ' guard against that asperity and contempt which have too
 ' often mingled with theological debates, but let us aim at the
 ' same time, to acquire and retain the most accurate conceptions
 ' of religious truth. Every improvement in the knowledge of
 ' Christ and the mysteries of his Gospel, will abundantly com-
 ' pensate for the labour and attention necessary to its at-
 ' tainment.

' However unhappily controversies have too often been con-
 ' ducted, the assistance they have afforded in the discovery of
 ' truth, is not light or inconsiderable. Not to mention the
 ' Reformation, which was principally effected by controversy,
 ' how many truths have by this means been set in a clearer
 ' view ; and, while the unhappy passions it has awakened have
 ' subsided, the light struck out in the collision has been re-
 ' tained and perpetuated.

' As the physical powers are scarcely ever exerted to their
 ' utmost extent, but in the ardour of combat, so intellectual
 ' acumen has been displayed to the most advantage, and to
 ' the most effect, in the contests of argument. The mind of a
 ' controversialist warmed and agitated, is turned to all quarters,
 ' and leaves none of its resources unemployed in the invention

‘of arguments, tries every weapon, and explores the hidden recesses of a subject with an intense vigilance and an ardour which it is next to impossible in a calmer state of mind to command. Disingenuous arts are often resorted to, personalities are mingled, and much irritative matter is introduced; but it is the business of the attentive observer to separate these from the question at issue, and to form an impartial judgment of the whole. In a word, it may be truly affirmed that the evils occasioned by controversy are transient, the good it produces is permanent.’

Art. VII. *Essays on Insanity, Hypochondriasis, and other Nervous Affections.* By John Reid, M.D. Member of the Royal College of Physicians, London, and late Physician to the Finsbury Dispensary. pp. 272. Price 9s. Longman and Co. 1816.

DR. REID has been for some years known to a considerable proportion of the reading public, by a series of medical reports which appeared in the *old Monthly Magazine*, and which have perhaps been more read out of the actual circle of the profession, than any thing that has ever been presented to the world under a merely medical title. Of these reports the present *Essays* are professedly little else than an amplification.

‘It was my original design, (says our Author) to have endeavoured to write something more systematic and complete on the subject of mental diseases; but domestic circumstances in which the public are not interested, having interfered with the prosecution of that object, I have been induced to commit to the press in the form of *Essays*, what I had regarded as materials merely towards the formation of a larger and more methodical work.’

The reader of these *Essays* will not have turned many pages of the book over, before he perceives that he is engaged with no ordinary writer. The first paper treats of the influence which the mind exercises upon the body, and comments upon the variety of shade, and difference of physiognomical character, displayed by the same nosological distemper, according to the external circumstances and interior condition of the individual sufferer. The Author alludes in a forcible and striking manner to the wretchedness of London paupers; and the beauty and justness of his remarks, will be readily acknowledged by those persons whose charitable designs or official duties have led them to witness these scenes of poverty and misery.

‘There is no person perhaps (says Dr. Reid) who is apt to form so low an estimate of the value of human existence, as a medical man practising amongst the poor, especially amongst the poor of a great city. But it is not impossible that he may exaggerate the excess of their sufferings, by combining, as it is natural for him to do, their external state with those feelings which he has acquired from very

different circumstances and education. As the horrors of the grave affect only the living, so the miseries of poverty exist principally perhaps in the imagination of the affluent. The labour of the poor man relieves him at least from the burden of fashionable ennui, and the constant pressure of physical inconveniences from the more elegant, but surely not less intolerable distresses of a refined and romantic sensibility. Even those superior intellectual advantages of education, to which the more opulent are almost exclusively admitted, may in some cases, open only new avenues to sorrow. The mind in proportion as it is expanded, exposes a larger surface to impression.' pp. 5, 6.

The chapter immediately succeeding, enters on the consideration of a topic which demands a much more ample discussion on the part of the medical philosopher and moralist, than has been given to it by our Author. How far the will may be brought to operate towards the counteraction of nervous depression and disorder, is a nice and difficult, but at the same time, a very momentous question. That nervous invalids are not to be laughed out of their ailings, is too obvious a truth, and too trite a remark, to be dwelt upon. But, on the other hand, there is a great moral as well as medical objection to a passive and indolent acquiescence in that feeling, which considers all the variety of aberration to which the sentient part of our frame is prone, as inevitable and invincible. Sauvages relates the case of a female, who was accustomed to ward off the attacks of very violent paroxysms of disorder, by a strenuous exertion of the voluntary power; and we verily believe the same effect might much oftener than is apprehended, be produced by a similar determination on the part of the patient. We are not to be told, that the essence of the maladies in question, consists often in a want of control over that very power, the exertion of which we venture to urge as a duty. To suggestions of this nature we would reply, let the patient at least seize hold, so to say, of the lucid interval, and when the enemy retires for a season, let that season be so employed as to render the frame less vulnerable to future attacks. This rule might be made especially to apply to the government and regulation of constitutional temper, a greater placidity and equanimity of which we are persuaded is in the power of the most irritable to procure to himself, than is usually allowed or imagined; and that even independently of those higher motives which *must* regulate the feelings and conduct of those persons, who are really under the influence of Christianity; but merely from a sense of the immediate good insured to the individual and to those about him, by a constant exercise of self-control. Even nascent insanity might in many instances be crushed in its birth, by a struggle apportioned to the magnitude of the desired object. But this is a theme which we cannot of course dwell upon in this place,

with any thing like the amplification due to its interesting nature, and we shall pass on to the next Essay, which is entitled 'The fear of death.'

That boasting man is at best but a tissue of contradictions, is sufficiently shewn by the remarkable peculiarities connected with his feelings and fears, in reference to life and death. He courts and retires from the same object in the same moment. Constantly complaining of life as a load, that load he is nevertheless loath to lay down, 'and it is a circumstance somewhat remarkable, that those persons should be found to dread most their departure from this state of being, to whom it has actually proved least productive of enjoyment.' The 'cowardice' which conscience occasions, is confessedly the prime and principal source of this seeming inconsistency; but independently of any apprehensions in respect of futurity, there is a reluctance amounting to horror in the prospect of severing that bond of sympathy, by which we are united to our fellow-sufferers. An individual feels the pang of repugnancy in contemplating the cessation of life, inasmuch as he cannot take with him those with whom he has participated in all life's anxieties; and this, perhaps, may be in part the reason that those who have known the most of sorrow, evince the most of solicitude to prolong the present state of existence. It is, however, a remarkable fact, that the desire of which we have been speaking, operates in a measure in producing its own destruction: the very apprehension of premature death has been known to accelerate its approach. Fear acts upon the mind, and through the mind upon the body, with sedative force, and thus is 'the advance of death' often hastened by an anxiety to retard its progress. 'The trembling hand of the apprehensive invalid, (as our Author impressively states it,) involuntarily shakes the glass in which his hours are numbered.'

It is part of a professional man's duty, as it will be found his interest, to take advantage, as far as is consistent with a conscientious regard to truth, of this susceptibility to the impressions of hope and fear. It is certain that his manner should be such as to inspire confidence in the efficacy of his prescriptions, when he sees that the complexion of the malady itself is as much influenced by that manner, as by the matter of the prescribed potion. The semblance of hope ought indeed never to be assumed under an absolute conviction of incurable disease; but, in cases which at the worst are but of doubtful aspect and uncertain result, the physician acts wisely by assuming a determination of mien, and an air of authoritative conviction, respecting the rectitude and efficiency of his plans of treatment. These remarks may appear too much in the way of obvious truisms. We are however disposed to suspect that the influence

of faith in the power, upon the efficacy of the prescription, is by no means duly appreciated, either in respect to its practical consequences, or its pathological bearings.

‘Practitioners, (Dr. Reid remarks in another part of his treatise,) who have by any means become celebrated or popular, are often, *on that very account*, more successful than others in the treatment of diseases. A similar remark may be made with regard to medicines themselves. A new medicine will often obtain a fortuitous fame, during the continuance of which, there is no doubt that it *actually produces* some of those salutary effects which are ascribed to it. But the fault of these new medicines is, that they will not *keep*. For as soon as the caprice of the day has gone by, and fashion has withdrawn its protecting influence, the once celebrated remedy is divested of its beneficial properties, if it do not become positively deleterious; by which it would appear, that its reputation had not been the result of its salutary efficacy, but that its salutary efficacy had been in a great measure at least the result of its reputation. However sceptical a physician may be with regard to the inherent or permanent qualities of a specific in vogue, it is his duty perhaps to take advantage of the tide of opinion as long as it flows in his favour. He may honestly make use of his patient’s credulity, in order to relieve him from the pressure of his disease, and render the partial weakness of his mind, instrumental to the general restoration of his corporeal strength. A wholesome prejudice should be respected. It is of little consequence whether a man be healed through the medium of his fancy or his stomach.’

The next subject on which our Author treats in these ‘*Essays on insanity and other nervous diseases*,’ is Pride, a very common malady indeed of human nature; and we are compelled to say he has treated it in a rather common-place manner. We might pass the same sentence also on the subsequent chapter, on Remorse, were not its character for originality and utility in some measure redeemed by the following important, and if duly applied, salutary hints against the reception of that creed which ascribes a positive virtue to the mere sentimental indulgence of contrite feelings, while the heart remains radically unaltered, and the conduct continues the same.

‘Remorse itself (it is well observed) is considered perhaps too indiscriminately as a compensation for misconduct. When it is an unproductive feeling merely, and not a regenerating principle, instead of mitigating, it can serve only to aggravate our offence.’

There is nothing which is perhaps in its principles more actually incorrect, or in its effects more extensively mischievous, than what may be termed sentimental piety. To compound for so much vice by an equivalent proportion of devotional feeling and periodical abstractions from worldly concerns, is as insulting to common sense as it is contrary to every

precept of pure morality. We are too apt, however, to censure this tenet in the gross, and to countenance it in the detail. Popery is indiscriminately condemned by many who are in essence and practice as papistical as the most decided devotees to the Romish ritual. Unproductive principles, while they are peculiar to no sect, insinuate themselves into all, under false colours, and are sometimes the most dangerous, when they are the least suspected.

Reflections on the Influence of Solitude, which is the subject of the next Essay, cannot be expected to be marked with much originality. We must allow however in this, as in several other parts of the treatise, that the force of manner compensates in a great measure for the deficiency of matter. The following remarks are expressed with considerable force and beauty.

‘ An unnatural exile from the world, so far from necessarily implying a superiority to its pollutions, often exposes a man even more imminently to the risk of moral contamination. The voice of the appetites and passions is heard more distinctly amidst the stillness of retirement. The history of hermits, of monks, and even of nuns, serves abundantly to demonstrate that sensuality may be indulged in solitude, and debauchery practised in the desert.’

The title page of the treatise before us will, with reason, be objected to on the ground of a want of correspondence with its general contents. It is not, however, entirely destitute of remarks on the very interesting but obscure subject of insanity. It is well known to all who are familiar with works on mental distempers, that madness is for the most part distinguished into Melancholia and Mania; the one state characterized by more than ordinary torpor, the other marked by inordinate excitement. Dr. Reid very properly combats the propriety of this division. The distinction is untenable, inasmuch as it assumes a comparative inactivity and deadness to sensation on the part of the melancholic, who, perhaps, under the semblance and seeming of exterior composure, has by far more busy, and complicated, and intense emotions working in the interior of his mind, than he that is agitated with the most violent paroxysms of maniacal excitation. This remark may indeed admit of useful application to the sane state of the mind. The charges of insensibility and dulness are often grounded on ignorance and misconception. We are too apt to judge of the susceptibility of others by the excitement of our own minds, and thus to fall into the error of confounding quality with quantity of feeling. The author of “*Hygæia*” has some very pertinent remarks on this head, one or two of which we shall extract, as we consider the subject under discussion to be of prime importance in several points of view. ‘ *Torpid melancholy! torpid grief!*’ (exclaims the writer to whom we have just alluded;)

' you may as well apply the epithet to the boisterous state of
 ' passion or insanity, and speak of *torpid* anger, or *torpid*
 ' phrenzy.' ' We may find occasions for pronouncing that sensi-
 ' bility is misplaced ; but it is much seldomer lost or decayed
 ' than is commonly supposed. Where the treasure is, there
 ' will the heart be also. But if the treasure be in a wrong
 ' place, is there therefore no heart ? DR. JOHNSON, somewhere
 ' in his Rambler, speaks of a mathematician, who, when sudden
 ' intelligence was brought him that the flames were gathering
 ' round him, instead of catching the alarm, sedately replied,
 ' that *fire naturally tends to move in a circle*. The anecdote
 ' is said to be authentic, but the relater, from this one trait,
 ' labours to make out a whole character, of which the essence
 ' may be gathered from the appellation of GELIDUS. For my
 ' part, I do not see any reason for believing that this GELIDUS
 ' had less warmth of disposition than the most frightened of
 ' those who were in haste to carry their property, or their chil-
 ' dren, or themselves, out of the reach of the conflagration.
 ' The affections of the mathematician, it is true, were bent upon
 ' none of these first. But there are such things in the world as
 ' co-efficients and abscisses : and by these were his affections
 ' pre-occupied. He ought to be qualified as mad if you please,
 ' but not, for any thing that appears, as cold.

' To any man (Dr. Beddoes goes on to say) who has had
 ' great interests to meditate, the apparent or real inattention of
 ' the melancholic (consistently with profound sensibility) to the
 ' objects noticed by others, ought not to seem a strange or puz-
 ' zling doctrine. At one time, while reviewing particular ideas,
 ' we hear and see without manifesting to the by-standers any
 ' tokens of our impressions. At another we are lost in thought,
 ' and the clock strikes unnoticed. The sound cannot introduce
 ' itself among the links of the passing train. The melancholic
 ' is still more lost when the fit is on him, and he notices nothing ;
 ' or else, he draws every thing about him into the whirlpool of
 ' his sensations. If the minds of others may be in any measure
 ' compared to vanes, which take their direction from without,
 ' his mind is a machine, which, by its rapid circumgyrations,
 ' not only resists the common mover, but takes this, as it were,
 ' into tow, and forces it to become its minister.'

Nothing can be better expressed, or more just in sentiment,
 than the last sentence especially of the above extract ; and we
 have called the reader's attention more particularly to the sub-
 ject, because, as we have before hinted, we consider that erro-
 neous notions of character, founded upon the supposition of de-
 fective sensibility, often lead to much mistake in regard to
 practical consequences, as it applies both to the management of
 madness and the cultivation of intellect. Unconscious talent
 which for a long time may have lain dormant and concealed,

but which only waits for the spark of excitation to burst into life, and energy, and splendour, is capable of explication upon the principle we are now considering; and, for want of its due appreciation, many serious errors are fallen into by superficial observers in regard to the disposition as well as capacity of young persons. Boys are often condemned for the absence of those very qualities which they possess in an eminent degree; and oftentimes a roughness, and obstinacy, and insensibility, are assumed, in revenge as it were for their being unjustly supposed to exist. An interesting character may thus become radically and irrecoverably injured, by a deficient discernment on the part of those who are professionally employed to watch and assist in its development.

The Essay intitled 'Intemperance,' contains some very striking and apposite illustrations of the inconsistency and futility, as well as the criminality of those temporary and fallacious resources to which the inebriate person has recourse as remedies against the evils of life. To say that 'the afflicted does not drown, he only dips his sorrow, in the flood of intemperance,' may seem to be dealing too much in prettiness of expression, and wordy play; but when the Author, rising above these prettinesses, into a manly tone of moral sentiment, makes the drunkard amenable to the crime of suicide, we are compelled to admit the justness of the charge, and to admire the energy with which it is urged. Let the inebriate man read the following sentences, and tremble under the consciousness of the moral turpitude in which his practices involve him.

'It is a condition scarcely distinguishable from despair, which can alone account for the obstinacy with which many an intemperate person deliberately pursues his disastrous course. In his mind the heavy foot of calamity has trampled out every spark of hope. He feels as if he could scarcely be in a more wretched, or is ever likely to be in a better condition. The exaggerated dimensions of his present misery, so completely fill, his eye as to prevent him from seeing any thing beyond it. He is habitually in a state of agitation or despondency, similar to that in which suicide is committed. *His, is only a more dilatory and dastardly mode of self-destruction.* He may be compared to a person who, in attempting to cut his throat, from a want of sufficient courage or decision, lacerates it for some time, before he completely perpetrates his purpose.' p. 102—3.

On the subject of Lunatic Asylums, we still think as we thought when first we saw his opinions in writing, that Dr. Reid's expressions of condemnation are too indiscriminately strong and severe. He makes an appeal to the transactions that have recently taken place, as a justification of himself against the imputation of groundless invective and inordinate

exaggeration. But, for ourselves, we would maintain that the late exposures of misconduct by no means justify what by implications may be construed into an almost universal condemnation of the conduct of keepers of mad-houses. We feel, however, no hesitation in a qualified reception of our Author's sentiments, when he speaks of 'insanity as a disease, which is not to be remedied by stripes and strait waistcoats, by imprisonment or impoverishment, but by an unwearied tenderness, and by an unceasing and anxious superintendence.' (p. 206.)

There are several interesting topics touched upon by our ingenious Author, in the course of this small volume, of a more purely medical nature than any to which we have hitherto alluded: such as the use and abuses of pharmacy, the advantages and disadvantages of bleeding, the indiscriminate and fearless administration of mercury, the 'throwing in bark' to convalescents, &c. To some of his sentiments on these subjects, we unhesitatingly assent; while others we think are advanced and maintained with rather too much of a sweeping boldness and dogmatic decision. We cannot, however, engage in an argumentative consideration of these several points; it is our wish at present rather to excite than gratify the curiosity of the reader. There is one remark, however, which we shall not overlook, because in our minds it is most strictly and justly applicable to one of the prominent errors of modern medicine; namely, that of curing complaints at the expense of the constitution. There has, we allow, been too much invective thrown out by some authors against the *mercurialism*, if we may so express ourselves, of the present day. We nevertheless think that the indiscriminate lavishness with which mercury in its different forms is dealt out by many prescribers, calls loudly for the lash of censure; and the following reproach is elegantly expressed, as well as boldly conceived.

'In the treatment of any malady, our object ought to be not merely to remove it, but to do so at as little expense as possible to the stamina of the patient. In too rudely eradicating a disease, there is danger lest we tear up a part of the constitution along with it. One of the most important circumstances that distinguish the honorable and reasoning practitioner from the empiric, is, that the former, in his endeavour to rectify a temporary derangement, pays, at the same time due regard to the permanent interests and resources of the constitution.'

'The inebriate, who, from having hardened or mutilated his hepatic organs, or one who from having mangled his health by a different mode of indiscretion, has recourse to the remedial influence of mercury, ought to be aware that a poison may lurk under the medicine which apparently promotes his cure; that although it prove ultimately successful in expelling the enemy, it often, during the con-

fict, lays waste the ground upon which it exercises its victorious power.' p. 149—50.

Our general opinions respecting the merits and demerits of Dr. Reid's work, will easily be gathered from the preceding remarks. If it be necessary to say any thing further respecting the language in which its sentiments are clothed, we would describe the style as abounding with beauties, but at the same time by no means free from faults. Dr. Reid's imagery is often finely conceived, and ably worked out; but then his *good things* are sometimes too much laboured. You see the machinery at work, when the effect produced is all that ought to arrest the attention. His metaphors too, if we may turn his own weapons against himself, we would say, are not seldom *metamorphosed* by extension beyond the limits which a correct taste prescribes to the excursion of fancy; and one beautiful image is often presented to the reader, which, standing by itself, would be every thing that could be desired, but the effect of which is weakened by the introduction of another. Let the following example serve to substantiate this charge.

'Under the influence of some intense emotion' (says Dr. R.) 'a man may be made to assume at once the immobility of marble, but he does not in that case become stone *within*. He stands fixed as a statue, but not insensible. There is often a spasmodic chillness of the surface, which only serves to aggravate that mental fever from which it originates.'

Now, this exposition of the interior state of a melancholic, is as fine as language can make it; but when the writer goes on immediately to tell us that 'the supposed torpor of melancholy' is like that of a child's top, which, after having been lashed 'into the most rapid agitation, is said from its apparent composure, to be *asleep*'; we are tempted to say that he spins out his illustrations in a childish manner. Like some of the medical practitioners whose conduct he condemns, he nauseates and weakens by the very means employed to strengthen and support. He 'throws in too much bark.' But we shall perhaps do more justice to our Author, by closing the present article with the concluding sentences of his treatise, and leaving the reader to his own unbiassed judgement.

'To be always considering "what we should eat, and what we should drink, and wherewithal we should be clothed," in order to avoid the approach of disease, is the most likely means of provoking its attack. A man who is continually feeling his pulse is never likely to have a good one. If he swallow his food from the same motive as he does his physic, it will be neither enjoyed nor digested so well as if he eat in obedience to the dictate of an unsophisticated and uncalculating appetite. The hypochondriac who is in the habit

(practice) of weighing his meals, will generally find that they lie heavy on his stomach. If he take a walk or a ride with no other view than to pick up health, he will seldom meet with it on the road. If he enter into company, not from any social sympathy, or relish for interchange of thought, but merely because company is prescribed for his disease, he will only be more deeply depressed by that cheerfulness in which he cannot compel himself to participate, and will gladly relapse into his darling solitude, where he may indulge his melancholy without risk of interruption or disturbance. "The countenance of a friend doeth good like a medicine," but not if we merely look upon it with a view to its medicinal operation. The constitutional or inveterate hypochondriac is apt to view every thing only in the relation it may bear to his malady. In the rich and diversified store-house of nature he sees merely a vast laboratory of poisons and antidotes. He is almost daily employed either in the search after, or in the trial of remedies for a disease which is often to be cured only by striving to forget it. But even if such a plan of life were really calculated to lengthen the catalogue of our days, it would still be equally wretched and degrading to the dignity of our nature. Nothing surely can be more idle and absurd than to waste the whole of our being in endeavours to preserve it; to neglect the purposes in order to protract the period of our existence—*propter vitam, vivendi perdere causas.*'

Art. VIII. *Looking unto Jesus, as carrying on the great Work of Man's Salvation; or a View of the Everlasting Gospel.* By Isaac Ambrose: Abridged by the Rev. Robert Cox, A.M. 8vo. pp. 284. Price 7s. 6d. Sherwood and Co. 1815.

THE excellency of the writings of the Puritans who flourished during the seventeenth century, has long been acknowledged by the religious world. The fervent piety and deep spirituality for which they are so eminently conspicuous, cannot fail to recommend them to devout and contemplative Christians of every denomination.

Of these truly valuable publications, none perhaps has been more deservedly admired, than Ambrose's "*Looking unto Jesus.*" This, however, as well as most of the other writings which appeared at the same time, may justly be charged with a tedious prolixity; an imperfection the more to be regretted, as it has a peculiar tendency to diminish its usefulness in an age when indolent habits and an indisposition to exert the faculties of the mind, have become so lamentably prevalent. We cannot therefore but rejoice, when any efforts are made to render such writings more palatable to the public taste; and we think Mr. Cox's endeavours promise in a great measure to answer that purpose, so far as it regards the work which he has abridged.

He has compressed it into somewhat less than half its original size, and neither the bulk therefore nor the price will now prevent its being better known. We subjoin the following

extract as a fair specimen of the work in its present appearance, and trust it will be an inducement to many of our readers to procure the book itself.

'What a variety of excellency is comprised in Jesus! A holy soul cannot tire itself in viewing him. He is all and in all:—all belonging to being, and all belonging to well being. What variety is in him!—Variety of time, He is Alpha and Omega;—variety of beauty, He is white and ruddy;—variety of quality, He is a lion and a lamb, a servant and a son;—variety of excellency, He is a man and God.—Who shall declare his generation? All of the Evangelists exhibit unto us the Saviour, but every one of them in his particular method. Mark describes not at all his genealogy, but begins his history at his baptism. Matthew searcheth out his original from Abraham. Luke follows it backwards as far as Adam. John passeth further upwards, even to the eternal generation of this Word that "was made flesh." So they lead us to Jesus: in the one we see him only among the men of his own time; in the second, he is seen in the tent of Abraham; in the third, he is much higher, namely, in Adam; and finally having traversed all ages, through so many generations, we come to contemplate him in the beginning, in the bosom of the Father, in that eternity in which he was with God before all worlds.'

Mr. C. intends to prefix a table of contents to his little publication; which will be a great improvement to it.

Art. IX. *The Panegyric of Samuel Whitbread, Esq. M. P.* By the Rev. J. Whitehouse, formerly of St. John's College, Cambridge. Rector of Orlingbury, Northamptonshire. royal 8vo. pp. 38. price 2s. 6d. Northampton printed, Conder, London. 1816.

MUCH good sense, unaffected warmth of feeling, and truly patriotic sentiments characterize this tribute to the memory of Whitbread. The loftier requisites of poetry, are not, it is true, exhibited in the composition; and the Author does not appear to have an ear sufficiently tutored, to enable him to work up his blank verse into metrical harmony. Still, he has produced what will be found more interesting than many pages of well-poised couplets, and it is only to be regretted that sentiments like the following should not have the advantage of the utmost power of language.

'There was a time

When Englishmen were proud of being free,
And justly valuing liberty themselves,
Dispensed, with careless prodigality,
The welcome boon to others; they stood forth
The champions of the rights of other men,
They had so much to spare: but, now, instead
Of this high feeling, and self-reverence
Which once ennobled us, we are become
The builders-up again of dynasties

It was our boast to humble, in the days
Of England's glory; when her sun shone clear,
And shed dismay on arbitrary thrones.' p. 21.

' Even now the Gothic night
Seems hovering o'er us, and the vampire-brood
Priestcraft, imposture, and cowed ignorance
Sail in the twilight! In the southern gales,
Borne in low murmurs from the neighbouring shore,
What shrieks arise! what heart-appalling shouts
Of massacre! while PERSECUTION bathes
Her steps in blood,—the blood of Innocents!—
Does justice slumber? Is the assassin's life
Held sacred and protected? and are these
The first fruits of our victories?' p. 23.

Mr. Whitehouse, it is evident, is zealously attached to the political sentiments of which the distinguished subject of his "Panegyric" was the steady, consistent, and overpowering champion. The spirit of party is not, however, chargeable on his production: on the contrary, the feeling which pervades it, is worthy of the sacred function which the Author exercises as a clergyman of the Church of England.

After expatiating on Mr. Whitbread's political character and his senatorial exertions, his Panegyrist touches on that unremitting attention to the wants and interests of the lower classes, which constituted a striking feature of his private character. His intimacy in early life with Howard is alluded to; a circumstance, which it is not improbable, may have contributed to the formation of those habits of philanthropic exertion in Mr. Whitbread, which render his loss in his immediate sphere irreparable. The Infirmary, the Lunatic Asylum, and other public institutions at Bedford, employed his constant attention. The education of the poor was an object which deeply interested him; and his speeches at the anniversary meetings of the Bedford Auxiliary Bible Society, evinced that the subject was one which called out all the ardour of his feelings. An impetuosity of manner, a constitutional vehemence that ill brooked control, in some instances perhaps indulged from the consciousness of integrity of design, but in great measure attributable to a morbid sanguinous temperament,—gave to Mr. Whitbread's manners at times a repulsive and even an arrogant character: but his frankness in acknowledging himself to have been in the wrong, the unsuspected benevolence of his motives, and the usefulness of his whole life, more than counterbalanced those infelicities of manner in the estimation of all connected with him. In the despatch of business he was unrivalled alike for promptitude and for correctness: few men have ever sustained with so exemplary regularity the varieties of official function, and *got through*

such a multiplicity of detail. It is the more worth while to notice these minuter traits, because they serve to throw out to greater advantage his parliamentary character, and to shew that it is was not assumed for the purposes of party ambition, but had for its basis, solid intellectual and moral qualities. He was as a man all that he appeared or professed to be as a senator; and with whatever error or pertinacity he was chargeable, there could exist no doubt that in his opinions he was as sincere as he was earnest, and as independent as he was sincere. If he was fallible, he was at least consistent; and those against whom his opposition was directed, knew that they were opposed not merely by an able, but by an honest man. Such a man, surely, might deserve a panegyric that would outlast the memory of his usefulness, but Mr. Whitehouse does not aim at superseding the historian's task. We shall make room for the following apostrophe.

‘Thou art gone,
Great Spirit! and thy works have followed thee.
Thy country owes thee much, a large arrear
Of services, beyond the power of gold
To purchase, or compensate. Thou hast been
The watchful guardian of her liberties,
The intrepid champion of her chartered rights,
And in the perilous time her fastest friend:
Alas, that thou should'st of her love so well
Have merited, and she so ill of thine!
Yet let not conscious worth and talent faint
In their exertions for the common weal,
Because of men's ingratitude, nor deem
Their efforts useless. In such exercise
Of virtuous hardihood, superior minds
Grow up and ripen. Hence our SIDNEYS rose,
Our RUSSELS and our HAMPDENS, names revered,
The friends of human kind: and WHITBREAD, thou,
The last, but not least honoured of the band
Of British patriots; o'er whose honoured grave
The holy form of freedom bends and weeps!
O far more envied lot, departed shade!
Is thine, though mingled with the silent dead,
Thy sad remains; more dignified thy dust
Than theirs—the gilded pageants of a day,
The sons of pride and pleasure, who walk forth
Beneath the warm bright sun, and kindly showers,
Yet feel no love to God, nor care for man!
Better be with the dead, than thus to live
In cold, sepulchral apathy: For such
May never minstrel wake the dulcet lyre
In hall or bower, nor picture round them throw
Her rainbow glories in proud portraiture.

The man of worth, of merit, him alone
 The muse forbids to die, and writes his name
 In his good deeds, his wide beneficence,
 And warm philanthropy. Round WHITBREAD's brow
 Lo, she entwines her civic wreath, and brings
 These simple offerings of the flowers of song,
 To bloom awhile, then fade upon thy shrine,
 Immortal Liberty! p. 33.

Art. X. *The Lay of the Laureate*. CARMEN NUPTIALE, by Robert Southey, Esq; Poet Laureate, Member of the Royal Spanish Academy, &c. 12mo. pp. 78. Price 4s. Longman and Co. 1816.

THIS is a poem worthy of the Poet Laureate of England. Mr. Southey has endeavoured to justify the choice by which he has been honoured, not by emulating the courtly lyrics of Mister Pye, but by making poetry the vehicle of sentiments which could in no other shape be offered, and by giving to occasion a voice both of emphasis and of melody.

The Poem is divided into three parts. In the Proem, Mr. Southey indulges in a strain of egotism, which an author may expect that his contemporary critics will resent, but which is sure to prove interesting to the next generation of readers, when the poet only, surviving in his works, is able to tell his own tale. There are no passages in our best poets, that engage our sympathy more than those references to their personal feelings or history, which at the time, perhaps, were charged upon their vanity; but they wrote for friends, rather than for critics; or for that futurity which is sure to participate in the feeling of friendship towards a poet that has deserved its esteem.

Mr. Southey alludes, in the following stanzas, to the obloquy which has been cast upon him, on account of his acceptance of the Laureateship.

' Yea in this now, while Malice frets her hour,
 Is foretaste given me of that meed divine;
 Here undisturbed in this sequestered bower,
 The friendship of the good and wise is mine;
 And that green wreath which decks the Bard when dead,
 That laureate garland crowns my living head.
 That wreath which in Eliza's golden days
 My master dear, divinest Spenser wore,
 That which rewarded Drayton's learned lays,
 Which thoughtful Ben and gentle Daniel bore, . .
 Grin Envy through thy ragged mask of scorn!
 In honour it was given, in honour it is worn!' pp. 7, 8.

In the subsequent stanzas, the Poet urges the difficulty which the occasion presented to one so unaccustomed to touch

' the sweet dulcimer and courtly lute.'

But the example of 'his master' Spenser, emboldens him to choose for the joyous occasion, a theme partaking of solemnity. He adopts for this purpose the form of an allegory.

The Author imagines that he is present, in a dream, at some great public festival, which is attended with general rejoicing.

'Such crowds I saw, and in such glad array,
It seemed some general joy had filled the land;
Age had a sunshine on its cheek that day,
And children, tottering by the mother's hand,
Too young to ask why all this joy should be,
Partook it, and rejoiced for sympathy.' p. 18.

'And every one of all that numerous throng
On head or breast a marriage symbol bore;
The war-horse proudly as he paced along
Those joyous colours in his forelock wore,
And arched his stately neck as for delight,
To show his main thus pompously bedight.
From every church the merry bells rung round
With gladdening harmony heard far and wide;
In many a mingled peal of swelling sound,
The hurrying music came on every side;
And banners from the steeples waved on high,
And streamers fluttered in the sun and sky.
Anon the cannon's voice in thunder spake,
Westward it came, the East returned the sound;
Burst after burst the innocuous thunders brake,
And rolled from side to side with quick rebound.
O happy land, where that terrific voice
Speaks but to bid all habitants rejoice!
Thereat the crowd rushed forward one and all,
And I too in my dream was borne along.
Eftsoon, methought, I reached a festal hall,
Where guards in order ranged repelled the throng,
But I had entrance through that guarded door,
In honour to the laureate crown I wore.' pp. 19, 20.

The spacious hall, hung round with trophies, and representations, in 'the painter's universal art,' of the most celebrated victories, is filled with 'the opulence of Britain's court,'

'Her Statesmen, and her Warriors, and her Fair
Amid that Hall of Victory side by side,
Conspicuous o'er the splendid company, -
There sat a royal Bridegroom and his Bride;
In her fair cheek, and in her bright blue eye,
Her flaxen locks and her benignant mien,
The marks of Brunswick's Royal Line were seen,
Of princely lineage and of princely heart,
The Bridegroom seemed, . . a man approved in fight,

Who in the great deliverance bore his part,
 And had pursued the recreant Tyrant's flight
 When driven from injured Germany he fled,
 Bearing the curse of God and Man upon his head.
 Guerdant before his feet a Lion lay,
 The Saxon Lion, terrible of yore,
 Who in his withered limbs and lean decay,
 The marks of long and cruel bondage bore,
 But broken now beside him lay the chain,
 Which galled and fretted late his neck and mane.
 A Lion too was couched before the Bride;
 That noble Beast had never felt the chain;
 Strong were his sinewy limbs and smooth his hide,
 And o'er his shoulders broad the affluent mane
 Dishevelled hung; beneath his feet were laid
 Torn flags of France whereon his bed he made.
 Full different were those Lions twain in plight,
 Yet were they of one brood; and side by side
 Of old, the Gallic Tyger in his might
 They many a time had met, and quelled his pride,
 And made the treacherous spoiler from their ire
 Cowering and crippled to his den retire.' pp. 25—27.

Suddenly the air is filled with unearthly music, and a hush of reverence and dismay spreads through the assembly, on beholding 'a heavenly company' appear, and direct their steps to the royal seat. In the congratulations and admonitions addressed to the Royal Bride by these allegorical personages, the Poet artfully conveys the language of his feelings with courtly propriety.

The first that approaches the throne, is a female form with awful port, the majestic leader of the train: the trident of the seas is in her right hand,

'The sceptre which that Bride was born to wield;
 and the Red Cross shield is displayed in her left. She exhorts the Princess to

'Love peace and cherish peace: but use it so
 That war may find thee ready at all hours.'

She is followed by a comely sage 'with locks of venerable 'eld,' his earthly name *EXPERIENCE*, to whom it is given to know all the past, and to enjoy as the meed of patient wisdom, foresight of the future. He presents to the princely pair, the volume of the rights, and usages, and laws which have constituted the greatness of Britain, and charges them to preserve it with reverence and jealous care, as the talisman of England's strength. We must transcribe the ensuing stanzas for the sake of their great beauty.

' The next who stood before that royal pair
 Came gliding like a vision o'er the ground ;
 A glory went before him thro' the air,
 Ambrosial odours floated all around,
 His purple wings a heavenly lustre shed,
 A silvery halo hovered round his head.
 The Angel of the English Church was this,
 With whose divinest presence there appeared
 A glorious train, inheritors of bliss,
 Saints in the memory of the good revered,
 Who having rendered back their vital breath
 To Him from whom it came, were perfected by Death.
 Edward the spotless Tudor, there I knew,
 In whose pure breast, with pious nurture fed, *
 All generous hopes and gentle virtues grew ;
 A heavenly diadem adorned his head, . .
 Most blessed Prince, whose saintly name might move
 The understanding heart to tears of reverent love.
 Less radiant than King Edward, Cranmer came,
 But purged from persecution's sable spot ;
 For he had given his body to the flame,
 And now in that right hand, which flinching not
 He proffered to the fire's atoning doom,
 Bore he the unfading palm of martyrdom.
 There too came Latimer, in worth allied,
 Who to the stake when brought by Romish rage,
 As if with prison weeds he cast aside
 The infirmity of flesh and weight of age,
 Bow-bent till then with weakness, in his shroud
 Stood up erect and firm before the admiring crowd.
 With these, partakers in beatitude,
 Bearing like them the palm, their emblem meet,
 The Noble Army came, who had subdued
 All frailty, putting death beneath their feet :
 Their robes were like the mountain snow, and bright
 As tho' they had been dipt in the fountain-springs of light.
 For these were they who valiantly endured
 The fierce extremity of mortal pain,
 By no weak tenderness to life allured,
 The victims of that hateful Henry's reign,
 And of the bloody Queen, beneath whose sway
 Rome lit her fires, and Fiends kept holyday.
 O pardon me, thrice holy Spirits dear,
 That hastily I now must pass ye by !
 No want of duteous reverence is there here ;
 None better knows nor deeper feels than I
 What to your sufferings and your faith we owe,
 Ye valiant champions for the truth below !" pp. 37—39.

The Address to the Princess breathes a warm, but as it appears to us, a misguided attachment, to the hierarchical scheme of ecclesiastical policy : the reference to the influence of personal piety in a monarch, is, however, both correct and elegant.

The angelic visitant that succeeds, is one of 'the guardians of the rising human race'.

Our readers will appreciate the beauty and pathos of the following stanzas.

'Somewhile he fixed upon the royal Bride
 A contemplative eye of thoughtful grief;
 The trouble of that look benign implied
 A sense of wrongs for which he sought relief,
 And that earth's evils which go unredrest
 May waken sorrow in an Angel's breast.
 I plead for babes and sucklings, he began,
 Those who are now, and who are yet to be;
 I plead for all the surest hopes of man,
 The vital welfare of humanity;
 Oh! let not bestial Ignorance maintain
 Longer within the land her brutalizing reign.
 O Lady, if some new-born babe should bless,
 In answer to a nation's prayers, thy love,
 When thou beholding it in tenderness,
 The deepest, holiest joy of earth shalt prove,
 In that the likeness of all infants see,
 And call to mind that hour what now thou hearest from me.
 Then seeing infant man, that Lord of Earth,
 Most weak and helpless of all breathing things,
 Remember that as Nature makes at birth
 No different law for Peasants or for Kings,
 And at the end no difference may befall,
 The "short parenthesis of life" is all.
 But in that space, how wide may be their doom
 Of honour or dishonour, good or ill!
 From Nature's hand like plastic clay they come,
 To take from circumstance their woe or weal;
 And as the form and pressure may be given,
 They wither upon earth, or ripen there for Heaven.
 Is it then fitting that one soul should pine
 For lack of culture in this favoured land? . . .
 That spirits of capacity divine
 Perish, like seeds upon the desert sand? . . .
 That needful knowledge in this age of light
 Should not by birth be every Briton's right?' pp. 46-48.

* * * * *
 He ceased, and sudden from some unseen throng
 A choral peal arose and shook the hall;

As when ten thousand children with their song
 Fill the resounding temple of Saint Paul; . .
 Scarce can the heart their powerful tones sustain;
 "Save, or we perish!" was the thrilling strain.
 "Save or we perish!" thrice the strain was sung
 By unseen Souls innumerable hovering round,
 And whilst the hall with their deep chorus rung,
 The inmost heart was shaken with the sound:
 I felt the reflux blood forsake my face,
 And my knees trembled in that awful place.' p. 51.

Two female forms, emblematical of Hope and Charity, then
 present themselves, and unroll before the throne

' "Earth's melancholy map," whereon to sight
 Two broad divisions at a glance were shown, . .
 The empires these of Darkness and of Light.
 Well might the thoughtful bosom sigh to mark
 How wide a portion of the map was dark.'

The high obligation of England, to diffuse the Scriptures
 'through all the region of her trusted reign,' and to win in
 peace, by a warfare against moral evil, a nobler name than that
 acquired by Victory, is energetically and feelingly descanted on.

'Speed thou the work, Redeemer of the World!
 That the long miseries of mankind may cease!
 Where'er the Red Cross banner is unfurled
 There let it carry truth, and light, and peace!
 Did not the Angels who announced thy birth
 Proclaim it with the sound of Peace on Earth?'

As *Speranza* ceases, the vaulted roof expands and exhibits
 a Cross of light, and the voice of an angelic multitude is heard
 renewing the prophetic anthem, "Peace upon Earth, Good will
 "to men." The Poet falls prostrate with awe and trembling
 joy.

The following stanzas close the Vision.

'Gone was the glory when I raised my head,
 But in the air appeared a form half-seen,
 Below with shadows dimly garmented,
 And indistinct and dreadful was his mien:
 Yet when I gazed intentlier, I could trace
 Divinest beauty in that awful face.
 Hear me, O Princess! said the shadowy form,
 As in administering this mighty land
 Thou with thy best endeavour shalt perform
 The will of Heaven, so shall my faithful hand
 Thy great and endless recompence supply; . .
 My name is DEATH; THE LAST BEST FRIEND AM I!' p. 60.

The 'Epilogue' apologizes to the Princess, for the severe
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solemnity of the Nuptial Song, and invokes Heaven's best blessings on the royal head.

It was perhaps unnecessary to give these copious extracts from a poem which will obtain so general a perusal, but it is the only way in which, without employing the commonplace language of panegyric, we could do justice to poetry like Mr. Southey's. Productions of this kind are judged of, not so much by their real merit, as by the first impression which they may accidentally make: we have therefore endeavoured to secure for the present poem that effect which the taste and feeling it displays are calculated to produce, apart from all those lowering associations which are inseparable from the occurrences and interests of the day.

We cannot wholly pass over, however, what appear to us to be defects in the poem. Stanzas 24 and 25 are, we think, disfigured by that mixture of mythology and pure allegory, to which not even the examples of Spenser and Milton can reconcile the mind. We have alluded to some objectionable parts of the address of the Angel of the English Church: but our exception lies principally against what appears to be conveyed in the following stanza. After alluding to the papal power, it is added:

‘ The stern Sectarian in unnatural league
Joins her to war against their hated foe ;
Error and Faction aid the bold intrigue,
And the dark Atheist seeks her overthrow,
While giant Zeal in arms against her stands,
Barks with an hundred mouths, and lifts an hundred hands.’

We say, what *appears* to be conveyed in these stanzas, for we cannot persuade ourselves that the Author really meant to intimate by this allegorical representation, that he believed in an actual conspiracy between different and mutually contending parties for the overthrow of the Establishment. We confess that the language is too equivocal, and that even supposing that it was designed merely to point out the concurrent tendency of various opposite causes to effect the downfall of the hierarchy, there is not truth in the representation. The whole body of Protestant Dissenters are subjected to incapacitating laws, similar to those which exclude the Roman Catholics. The same Church, by virtue of its connexion with the State, accomplishes the exclusion of both; but this exclusion proceeds, in the two cases, upon very different grounds: in the one, it is founded on grounds simply religious,—on the charge of schism; in the other, on the political complexion of the Romish creed. The Dissenters have on more than one occasion, consented to waive their claims, rather than favour, even indirectly, the introduction of the Roman Catholics, to secular power;

and so far from being disposed to league with the members of a Church, the tenets of which are so abhorrent to every principle they cherish, they are regarded by the Roman Catholics themselves less as fellow-sufferers in a civil respect, than as determined opponents from conscientious principles. How far the Dissenters generally may, or may not, as individuals, rejoice in the prospect of concessions being made to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, as the triumph of the principles of an enlightened policy, we do not pretend to say; but not the shadow of evidence can be adduced to shew that such an opinion has led to any practical combination of whatever kind either among themselves, or with any foreign body. The supposed league is a pure creation of fancy. Are Grattan, Wilberforce, and Lord Castlereagh, we would ask, the representatives of Faction, Error, and Atheism? or are the hundred hands of Giant Zeal typical of the increasingly numerous minority within the House of Commons, that support the 'claims' of the Catholics? We are sorry to be compelled to make these remarks on any passage in the production of a man cordially attached, as we believe Mr. Southey to be, to civil and religious liberty. Since he has alluded, however, to two queen-mothers of the English Church, we must be allowed to refer to a third—not to Queen Mary the First, but to Queen Anne—and to remind him, that in her reign the 'dark Atheist'* was exhibited as the most zealous abettor of the arbitrary claims of the Establishment. Between the Atheist, who employs religion as a mere engine of state policy, and the intolerant ecclesiastic, there is a natural tendency to union. But Mr. Southey is perhaps the first who has ventured to designate Zeal as a giant rebel, and a rebel in arms, with which the Hercules of the State has to combat. The name of virtue, for surely zeal is a virtue, is not to be given to the personification of vice, whatever vice be intended. Mr. Southey has explained himself as to the means by which alone he would have the Church defended and upheld: but still such representations as these are calculated to inflame and to mislead; consequences, which Mr. Southey would deprecate equally with ourselves.

We were about to notice another passage in Mr. Southey's poem, as liable to misconstruction, but the subject is too delicate for us either to suggest, or to require an explanation. It is obvious that the Poet's allusions to certain distinguished personages, are confined to those public measures with which the public character of the sovereign is identified. Regarding that firm adherence on the part of the monarch to constitutional

* Bolingbroke.

principles, and that gracious solicitude, personally expressed, for the universal enjoyment of religious knowledge and religious liberty, which have characterized the present reign, we do not hesitate to applaud the cautious counsel which our poet offers to the Royal Lady:

‘ Look to thy Sire, and in his steady way,
As in his Father’s he, learn thou to tread.’

In proportion as Mr. Southey despises the clamours of party-spirit, and the invectives of impotent envy, let him be careful to guard against the appearance of a feeling tainted by the Court, or darkened by bigotry. He may then in perfect faith, cast his book upon the waters.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The conclusion of the Article on *Dr. Clarke's Travels* is unavoidably deferred till the next Number, which will also comprise Articles on *Lavallée's History* of the French Factions, *Adams's Journal* of a Residence at Tombuctoo, *Memoirs* of the early life of *Wm. Cowper*, Esq. Essays in Rhyme by *Miss Taylor*, &c. &c.

ART. XI. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

* * *Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending Information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the Public, if consistent with its plan.*

Preparing for publication, some account of Ahantah and Fantyn, and the remaining countries on the Gold Coast of Africa; containing notices of their soil, climate, and productions, and of the persons, manners, customs, religion, institutions, arts, trade, and comparative civilization of the inhabitants; including narratives of their more recent wars, and hints for the development of their ancient history, and the history of the African Slave Trade; and for an inquiry into the original Country of the Negro Race.

* * Recent intelligence of a War (the consequences of which may be important to British interests) has served to shew, from the unsuccessful attempts of the public prints to inform their readers of the situation and state of the Countries of Ahantahs (Ashantees) and Fantyn (Fantees), and from the errors and deficiencies of our best maps and books of Geography, the want of a work similar to the one above described.

Also, a History of Nipal, a Kingdom in the North of India: describing its origin, situation, surface, climate, and inhabitants; its relations, political and commercial, with the British Dominions in Asia, Tibet, Tartary, and the Chinese Empire; and the rise and progress of the present war.

* * The general want of information which appears to prevail with respect to Nipal, and the powerful and increasing interest which attaches to the existing war with that country (so lately brought within the sphere of European knowledge) may be regarded as strong recommendations of this work.

Mons. Devisscher, public teacher from the university of Paris, and a native of that city, has in the press a new French Grammar, entitled,—“*Grammaire de Lhomond*; or, The Principles of the French Language, grammatically explained in twelve Lessons, according to the rules of the French Academy;” adapted for the use of schools, and for persons who wish to renew their study of the French Language.

The Rev. William Bennet has prepared for the press, and proposes to publish by subscription, a careful abridgement of the learned Bishop Stillingfleet's “True reason of the Sufferings of Christ;” originally published in the year 1669, in reply to the exceptions of Crellius, the most learned and subtle of all the Polish Socinians, against the celebrated work of Grotius on the Satisfaction of Christ: Which contains an accurate statement, and a most able vindication of the Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement; interspersed with Notes and Reflections by the Editor. To which will be subjoined an Appendix, containing the Bishop's most mature judgement on the Commutation of Persons betwixt Christ and Believers, extracted from his Lordship's correspondence with an eminent Dissenting Minister; and some additional observations by the Editor, shewing the injurious tendency of incautious and inaccurate statements in reference to that subject, and briefly opening the scripture-doctrine concerning it. To such as are acquainted with Bishop Stillingfleet's theological works, no encomium by the Editor can be necessary, to apprize them of his vigorous and discriminating intellect: and to others he will only observe, that to the pen of this able divine he owes the fullest satisfaction he has ever met with on the subject of the Atonement—in respect to the proper grounds of its Divine requisition, the clear and well-defined statement of the doctrine itself, the forcible appeal to reason and scripture by which it is maintained, and the ready solution of the most learned and sophistical reasonings against it. The whole will be comprised in one volume 8vo. and, as very few more copies will be printed than will answer the subscription, those who are disposed to encourage the work are requested to signify the same, by the 1st of November next, either to the Editor at Chapel-en-le-frith, Derbyshire, or through the medium of the London Booksellers.

In the press, and speedily will be

published, the *Memoirs and Writings of Miss Fauny Woodbray*, who died at *Baverley*, in North America, November 15th, 1814, aged 23 years. (Being the F. W. to whom the greater part of Mrs. Newell's interesting Letters are addressed.) By the Rev. Joseph Amerson.

Mr. Henry Koster will soon publish, in a quarto volume, *Travels in Brasil from Pernambuco to Serara*, with occasional excursions, and a voyage to *Maranam*; illustrated by plates of costumes.

The Rev. J. Slade has in the press, *Annotations on the Epistles*, intended as a continuation of Mr. Elsley's *Annotations on the Gospels and Acts*.

Dr. Hutchison, late surgeon to the *Royal Naval Hospital at Deal*, will soon publish, *Practical Remarks in Surgery*, illustrated by cases.

Lysons' Magna Britannia, volume VII.

containing *Cumberland*, will soon appear; and at the same time, part VII. of *Britannia Depicta*.

Baron Uklanski's Travels in Italy, with a few occasional Poems, are printing in two duodecimo volumes, for the benefit of his widow.

The third volume of the *Transactions of the Geological Society*, with numerous plates, chiefly coloured, will appear in a few days.

Mr. Luckcock, of *Birmingham*, has in the press, *Sunday-school Moral Lectures*, interspersed with a variety of anecdotes.

Mr. Britton is preparing for publication, *The History and Antiquities of the Metropolitan Church of York*; illustrated with a series of Engravings.

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